

HISTORY OF THE MINOR CHĀLUKYA FAMILIES
IN MEDIEVAL ĀNDRADĒŚA

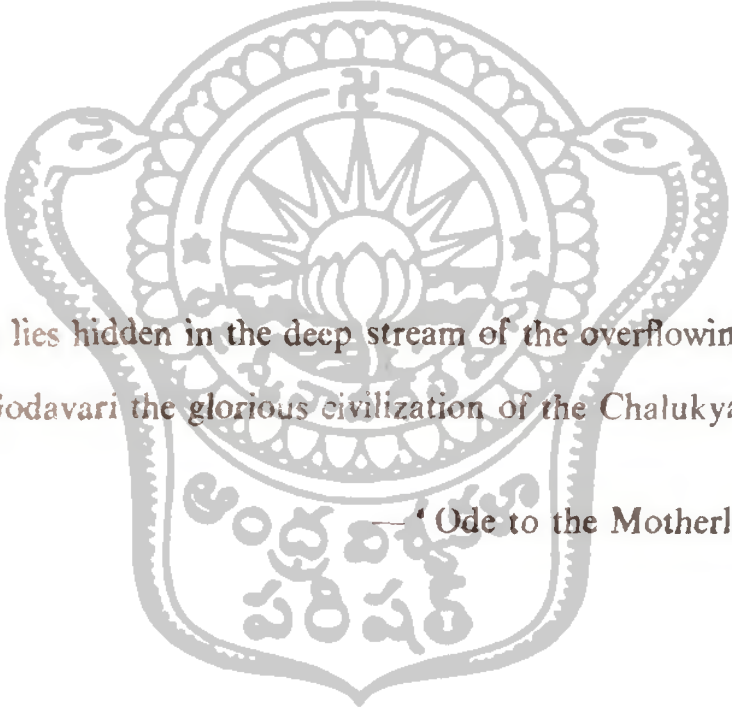
KOLLURU SURYANARAYANA



THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE ANDHRA UNIVERSITY
FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN HISTORY
1984







“There lies hidden in the deep stream of the overflowing
mighty Godavari the glorious civilization of the Chalukyas.”

— ‘Ode to the Motherland’



DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is original and has not been submitted for any Degree or Diploma to any other University.

Dt. 7-5-1984.

K. Suryanarayana
(KOLLURU SURYANARAYANA)

CERTIFICATE

I certify that the work of the Scholar, as declared above, is genuine and that the candidate has submitted the thesis under my supervision.

Dt. 7.5.84

C. Somasundara Rao
(C. SOMASUNDARA RAO)
Research Director



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PREFACE

In the following pages, an attempt is made to reconstruct the history of the Minor Chālukya families, with the help of available material, and fill-up a gap in the annals of Āndhradēśa. As these families flourished in different periods in different regions, the scope of the work became very wide; and so it became essential to make the survey comprehensive to give an equally fair account of each of the families. Some parts of Telāṅgāna in the present Andhra Pradesh were under the influence of Kannadigas during this period of study, e.g., the Chālukyas of Vēmūlavāḍa. For the study of this family, I had to depend upon the discussions of scholars published in various journals, and on the Telugu and English renderings of the relevant Sanskrit and Kannada works.

No connected work has been done till now to assess the contribution of these chiefs. N. Venkataramanayya, no doubt, attempted a study of the Chālukyas of Vēmūlavāḍa; but he dealt only with the political history and left the other aspects untouched. The history of the Chālukyas of Mudigōṇḍa is known better now with the discovery of the grant of Kusumāyudha. The history of the Chālukya families in Coastal Āndhra is covered by V. Yasodadevi, but her work is so vast that only a sketch of many a family is found in it rather than a detailed discussion of problems



in their study. Great is my debt to the authors of these works, who enriched the subject.

The subject under study is divided into ten chapters (excluding Introduction and Conclusion). The Introduction gives an account of the sources for the reconstruction of the history of the Minor Chālukya families.

Chapter - I deals with the history of the Chālukyas of Vemulavāda. Genealogy and chronology, individual achievement of the kings, identification of some places, and the part played by this family in the Vengi-Malkhed relations are discussed.

Chapter - II is a study of the history of the Chālukyas of Mudigonda. The political details of these kings are thoroughly discussed giving reasonable interpretations to the Koravi and Gudur inscriptions.

Chapter - III deals with the details of the Chālukyas of Jananāthapura, who are hitherto termed as 'the Chālukyas of Pithāpur'. A number of records of Vishnuvardhanas are available at places like Drākshārāma and Bhīmavaram, which are now attributed to the rulers of such names in this family.

Chapter - IV is a study of the history of the Chālukyas of Elamañchilli. The fortunes of this family fluctuated

-:iii:-

with the varying vicissitudes of the Reddi, the Velama and the Gajapati powers. The Kāvvalankārachūdāmaṇi is used for the first time as a source of history of this family.

Chapter - V deals with the history of the Nidadavōlu family. New light has been focussed on the genealogy and chronology, on the identification of some kings and about the migration of the later rulers to the areas of Telangāna.

Chapter - VI refers to the individual Chālukya rulers known from the records from various districts, and from literature.

Chapter - VII deals with the administrative set-up, taxation, justice etc. The works of Somadevasūri on polity have been utilised here to the extent possible, in addition to the epigraphical references.

Chapter - VIII is a study on the socio-economic conditions. This is studied against the background of contemporary literary works and inscriptions.

Chapter -IX deals with religion and art. This long period witnessed various changes in religion, of which a detailed study is made in this chapter. The secular and



religious sculptural remains at places like Vemulavāda, which are now in decay, have also been brought under study.

Chapter - X is a study of literature produced under the patronage of these families. A detailed study has been made of Sanskrit writers like Sōmadēvasūri, Kannada writers like Pampa and Telugu writers like Dōnayāmātya and Vinnakōṭa Peddaya who flourished under the patronage of different families. A resume of the political and cultural contributions of the above mentioned Chālukya families is made in the 'Conclusion.'

I wish to express my deep sense of gratitude to my teacher and Research Supervisor Dr. C. Somasundare Rao, Reader, Department of History & Archaeology, whose constant encouragement, useful suggestions and guidance played the most important role in the completion of the present work. He has kindly placed at my disposal his personal library for my use. I am grateful to Dr. Y. Srirama Murty, Professor of History, Andhra University for the encouragement and parental care he has taken in providing various facilities during the period of my research. I am thankful to Dr. K. Sundaram, Professor of History, Andhra University, for helping me in finalising the Chapter on Religion and Art. I am also obliged to Dr. P. Viswanatham, Department of Geography, Andhra University for kindly preparing the map.



I also express my earnest thanks to Sri C. Sitarama Murty for his valuable help and suggestions at various stages of this work. I am obliged to the University authorities for providing all facilities for my research work.

I am thankful to many institutions for permitting me to consult their libraries: the Librarian, Dr. V.S. Krishna Memorial Library, Andhra University, Waltair; Chief Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore; Director, Department of Archaeology & Museums, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad; Librarians, R.S. Museum Library and Gautami Library, Rajahmundry; Curator, A.S.P.P. Museum and Library, Kakinada. My thanks are due to the Executive Officers of the temples at Vemulavāda, and Pañchadhārāla who provided me facilities during my stay at those places. I thank my cousin, Bhanu who drew the sketch of the royal emblem and helped me at the typing stage of the work and Mr. M. Appa Rao, Steno-typist who neatly typed this work.

Chaitra, Bahula Ēkādaśī,
Śaka 1906.

K.S.N.



ABBREVIATIONS

A.P.A.R.E.	: Andhra Pradesh Annual Report on Epigraphy.
A.P.H.C.	: Proceedings of the Andhra Pradesh History Congress.
A.R.E.	: Annual Report on(South)Indian Epigraphy.
A.S.P.P.	: Āndhra Sāhitya Parishad Patrika.
C.T.I.	: Corpus of Telangana Inscriptions.
Epi. Andhrica	: Epigraphia Andhrica
Epi. Carnatica	: Epigraphia Carnatica
E.I.	: Epigraphia Indica
J.A.H.R.S.	: Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society.
J.B.B.R.A.S.	: Journal of Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
I.A.	: Indian Antiquary
I.H.C.	: Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.
N.D.I	: Nellore District Inscriptions.
Sewell's List	: List of Antiquarian Remains in the Madras Presidency by Robert Sewell.
S.I.I.	: South Indian Inscriptions.
V.R.	: V. Rangacharya's Topographical List of Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency.



TRANSLITERATION CHART

a ā ī ī u ū ṛṛ e ē ai o ō

au am aḥ

k kh g gh ṅ

ch chh j jh ñ

ṭ ṭh ḍ ḍh ṇ

t th d dh n

p ph b bh m

y r l v ś ṣ h

Dravidian letters : ṛ ṛ ṛ

Visarga : ḥ



CHAPTER - I

THE CHĀLUKYAS OF VĒMULAVĀDA

One of the most important minor Chālukya branches that ruled over parts of the present Telāṅgāṇa in the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries, and the one which played a prominent part in the then political relations of contemporary dynasties in the Deccan is the Chālukya branch at Vēmūlavāḍa. This line of kings is known to history as rulers of certain eminence, as warriors of repute, as renowned patrons of letters and builders of monuments. Though they are capable rulers, the contemporary political conditions allowed them only to rule in a subordinate status. Even then, they played a notable role in dictating terms to and in making alliance with, other powers. They were the first known power to be styled as Lords of Sapādalaksha country.

One interesting point regarding the origin of this family is its descent from the Sun. All Chālukya families traced their descent from the Moon. Contrary to that tradition, in the Parabhaṇi plates of Arikēsari III,¹ dated A.D. 966, it is stated that they belong to the Solar race. We do not know the significance of this claim. However N. Venkataramanayya suggests a reasonable cause for their claim of descent to Solar race.² The idea that Ayōdhya, the seat of the Solar line of kings, was the home of the Chālukyas appears to have been current



in the 10th Century A.D. That must have been, in all probability, the reason for ascribing them to the Solar family in the Parabhaṇi plates. Except in this particular grant, nowhere, even in the other records of the same Arikēsari, this statement is repeated again.

Another important thing to note in this context is the distinctive feature found in their epithets. Even though they have ruled over parts of the present Andhra Pradesh, we do not find in their list of epithets the titles 'Sarvalōkāśraya' and 'Vishṇuvardhana', which are very common for all the kings who claim the Chālukya descent in Coastal Andhra. Not only this family, but also the Mudigonda Chālukyas, the other family that ruled in Telangāṇa, did not make use of these two epithets. Political, cultural and most of all, geographical, separation of Telangāṇa from the remaining Andhra Pradesh may be one of the causes for this peculiarity.

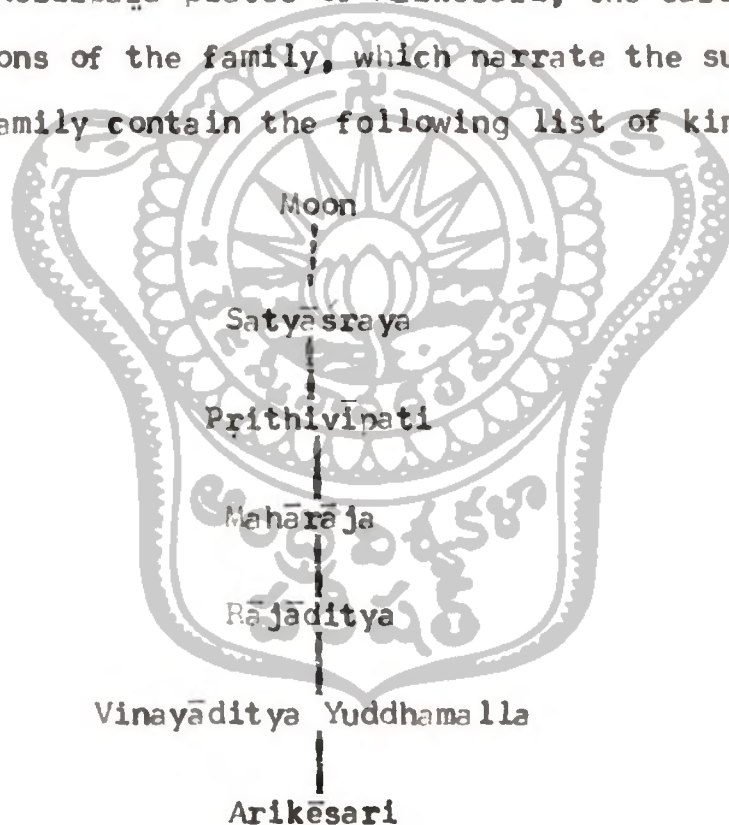
GENEALOGY AND CHRONOLOGY

Let us first assess the comparative value of these sources with a view to derive the genealogy and chronology of the rulers of this line. A few inscriptions and one literary work furnish the genealogy of this line of rulers.



Roughly two decades ago, N. Venkataramanayya proposed a chronological scheme,³ but a rigid adherence to it regarding the earliest and the last rulers may not be possible at present, as some new light has come about their dates.

The Kollipara plates of Arikēsari, the earliest of the inscriptions of the family, which narrate the succession of this family contain the following list of kings.⁴



This grant gives six generations of rulers beginning with Satyāsraya Raṇavikrama down to Arikēsari, the donor of this grant. This does not bear any date but is assigned to the middle of the ninth century on the basis of palaeography.



An inscription, coming from Kuravagatta in the Mahaboobnagar district, records the exploits of one Viragriha, son of Vinayaditya of the Chalukya family.⁵ Palaeographically, this has similarity with that of the Kollipara plates.

Vinayaditya

Viragriha

This short epigraph further states that Viragriha was a good friend of Govinda Vallabha, son of Kalivallabha of the Rashtrakuta family, who ruled in the beginning of the ninth century.

In point of time, the Vemulavada inscription of Arikēsari comes next. This record is also undated and traces the descent from certain Yuddhamalla, known also as Vinayaditya.⁶ Beginning with this Vinayaditya Yuddhamalla, eight generations of rulers down to Arikēsari are stated in the inscription as follows.



Vinayāditya Yuddhamalla

Arikēsari I

Narasimha I

Yuddhamalla II

Baddega

Yuddhamalla III

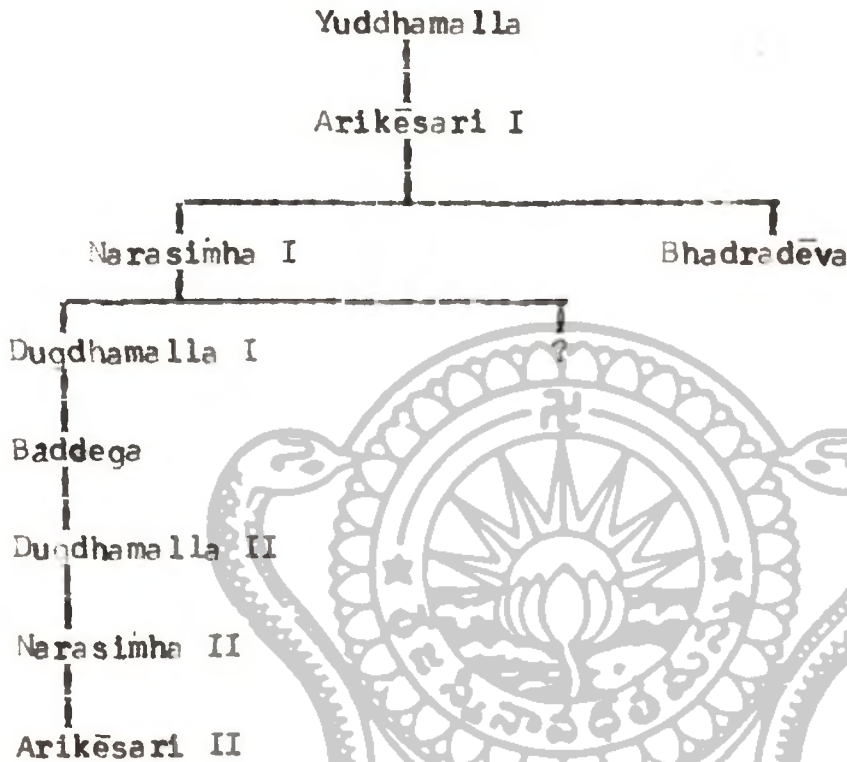
Narasimha II

Arikēsari II

But in this list of rulers, the relationship between the successive rulers excepting the first two and the last two is not clearly stated.

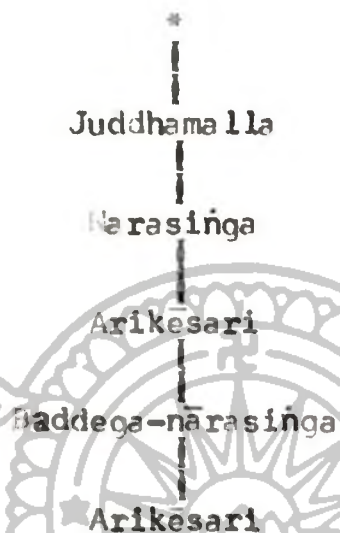
Pāṃpa, the Court poet of Arikēsari II also refers to the genealogy of his patron in the introductory portion of his work Vikramāraṇaviṇayaṃ. As he had apparently greater access to the archives of his patron, he may be assumed to have recorded accurate information about the ancestors of Arikēsari II. The absence of relationship among the successive rulers in the Vēmulaṇḍa inscription is, however, compensated for by Pāṃpa. It is as follows:⁷





As Pampa was in the service of Arikēsari II and as he was a contemporary of the author of the Vēmulaṣāda inscription as well, the relationship among the predecessors of his patron as stated by him may be taken to be the correct one. The next important inscription that extends the above genealogy by two more generations is the Karimnagar inscription of one, Arikēsari. This mentions five generations of rulers beginning from Juddhamalla down to Arikēsari.⁸

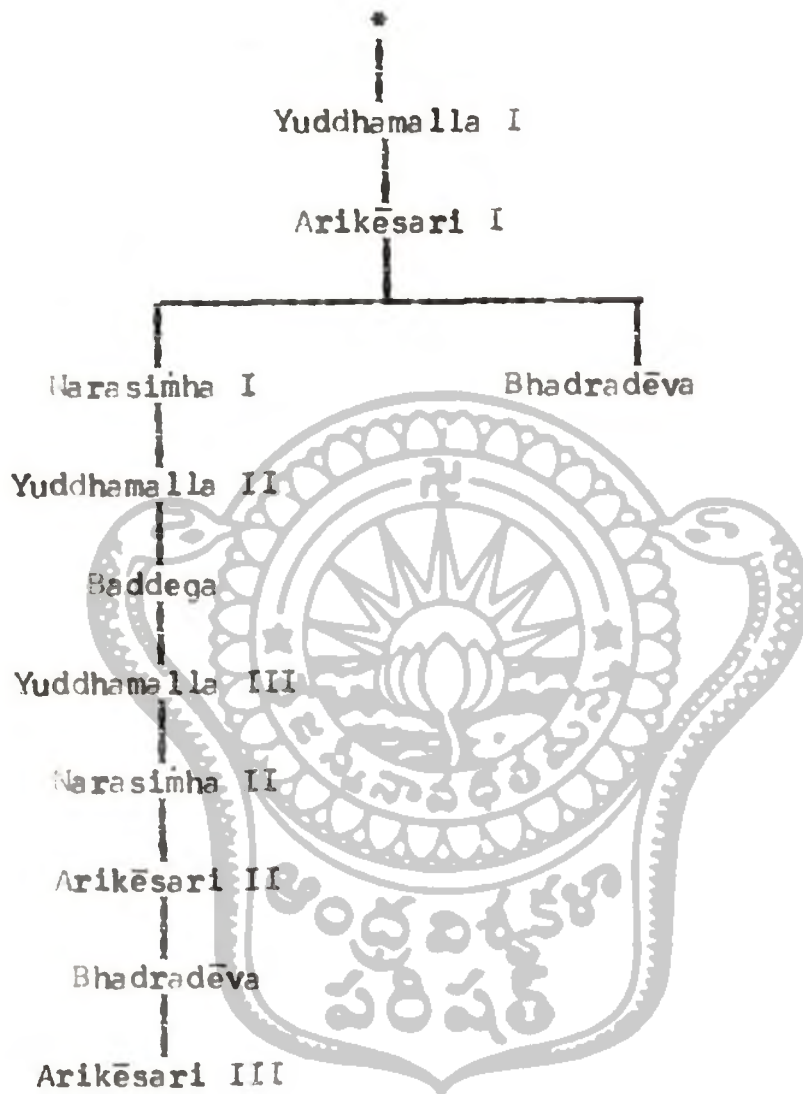




The date of this grant is given as A.D. 946, and this quotes five verses from Pampa's Vikramāriṇavilāṣam, as introductory verses.

Lastly, the Parabhaṇi plates⁹ of Arikēsari III give an almost complete genealogy of the family as covered by most of the above inscriptions and by Vikramāriṇavilāṣam. They describe the genealogy of the family of ten generations from Yuddhamalla I to Arikēsari III, as follows:





The remaining inscriptions just mention the name of the king in whose time the donation was made. The other literary works are content with just mentioning the name of their patron. Sōmadēvasūri in his Yasastilaka states that Vāgarāja, the elder son of Chālukya Arikēsari, was ruling from Gaṅgādhara in A.D. 959. It also states that Vāgarāja was a subordinate of Rāshtrakūṭa king, Kṛishṇa III,



and that he was associated with him in the camp of Mēlpādi, which is identified with a locality in the present Chittoor district of Andhra Pradesh. In the light of the above information, we have to establish the correct genealogy of this branch of rulers.

Though there are slight variations in spelling in the names of kings in the different sources, the genealogy of this branch of the Chālukyas usually begins with Yuddhamalla I, the father of Arikēsari I. Only in the Kollipara plates, this Yuddhamalla and Arikēsari are given as the last rulers, with Satyāśraya-Raṇavikrama, Prithivīpati, Mahārāja and Rājāditya preceding them. Hence, this list given in the Kollipara plates may be treated as the earliest reference to this family. But previously N. Venkataramanayya thought that the genealogy furnished by the Kollipara plates is the least trustworthy.¹⁰ He doubted the genuineness of the record. Though great caution must be exercised in utilising the information furnished by this grant, its content cannot be rejected on the whole on mere suspicion on its genuineness. Here a brief discussion is needed about the details of the Kollipara plates and the various limitations in accepting its genealogy.



Genuineness of the Kollipara Plates:

The Kollipara plates register the grant (Vidyādāna) by king Arikēsari, son of Vinayāditya-Yuddhamalla of the Chālukya family, to Mugdhaśivāchārya, a disciple of Sadyaśśivāchārya of the Ankuta-Gurukula, of the village of Belmoga in Rāmadu-vishaya. In this genealogy Vinayāditya-Yuddhamalla, the father of the donor king Arikēsari, is stated to have been a great conqueror and was served by the kings of several countries such as Turushka, Yavana, Barbara, Kāsmīra, Kāmbhōja, Magadha, Mālava, Kalinga, Gaṅga, Pallava, Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa. The script used in this inscription is the Telugu-Kannada script of the Middle variety, that was in use in the Deccan from eighth to 10th Century A.D. The date of the inscription is not stated and on palaeographical evidence N. Venkataramanayya assigned this grant to the middle of the 9th Century A.D.

But M. Somasekhara Sarma tried¹¹ to derive the number 4121 as the date in Kali era from a verse (Surēndēbhārkasāgarāḥ) which describes the qualities of the sage Mugdhaśivāchārya. The equivalent of this date would be A.D. 1019-20, and it does not tally with the palaeography of the record. Hence the said scholar himself withdrew his suggestion regarding this date.



Even though this inscription mentions the earliest rulers of this family, their connections or relations with the other contemporary Chālukya families are not stated anywhere. The donor Arikēsari I of the Kollipara plates is referred to in Vikramārjunaviḷayam as a contemporary of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Nirupama Dhruva who ruled in between A.D. 780 and 793. Hence the grant mentioned in the Kollipara plates might have also belonged to the same period; and the palaeography supports the above date. So the Kollipara plates can be taken as a reliable grant given by Arikēsari I. N. Venkatarāmanayya dubbed the political information mentioned in these plates as mythical. The following two are his main objections to accepting the genuineness of this record.¹²

1) Inscriptions of a later period and Vikramārjunaviḷayam trace the descent of the family from Vinayāditya-Yuddhamalla. In them he is said to have ruled over the Sapādalaksha country, a country that could not be governed by others; that he has caused all his elephants to be bathed in a reservoir filled with oil at Pōdana; and that he has captured a fort called Chitrakūṭa which was inaccessible. His son, Arikēsari I, is said to have conquered the kingdom of Vēngī and Trikaḷiṅga during the time of Nirupama Dhruva,



the Rāshtrakūṭa king who ruled from A.D. 780 to 793. These achievements are not mentioned in the Kollipara plates, even though the same Arikēsari I, son of Vinayāditya Yuddhamalla, issued those plates. While describing his father, he just mentioned about his conquests of Turushka, Yavana, Barbara, Kāshmīra, Kambhōja, Magadha, Mālava, Kalinga, Gaṅga, Pallava, Pāndya and Kēraḷa.

ii) Various researches done by scholars like M. Soma-sekhara Sarma and Muliyaṁ Timmappayya have not yielded good results; and they cannot be considered successful in identifying the early rulers of this branch, known through these Kollipara plates, with the Chālukya branches of Bādāmi and Lāṭa. From this, it may be said that the genealogy given in the Kollipara plates is a fictitious one. These chiefs probably forgot their real line of descent and fabricated the names of Satyāśraya-Raṇavikrama, Prithivīpati, Mahārāja and Rājāditya to reinforce their claim for rulership. Under this impression, N. Venkataramanayya rejected "not only the genealogy but also the history" mentioned in these Kollipara plates.

But the objections raised by him against the genuineness of this grant do not appear convincing. He does not reject



the fact of the issue of the grant by Arikēsari I. He expresses a doubt as to why the details mentioned in the literature are absent in the inscription. He points out that the Kollipara plates did not mention some important achievements of Vinayāditya-Yuddhamalla I and Arikēsari I. The cause for this omission is not known. This omission does not undermine the genuineness of the grant; it only makes the record incomplete or imperfect. Not only in this grant but also in Vikramājunaviṭṭayam and in the *Parabhaṇi* plates the capture of the fort Chitrakūṭa by Vinayāditya-Yuddhamalla is omitted. Could this omission make all these sources suspect about their genuineness? The Karimnagar pillar inscription of Arikēsari I II referred only to five generations even though he had full knowledge of his entire ancestry. For some reason or other, some sources may have omitted some facts. In the present context, Arikēsari I's conquest of Vēṅgī and Tōrikalīṅga might have occurred after the date of issue of this grant and hence they might not have been included in it. Similar might be the case with his father's achievements. As he added a list of countries conquered by his father, he might not have made a special mention of the conquest of Chitrakūṭa, which formed a part of the above said countries. His successors of a later date left all other details and selected only some important



conquests among which the conquest of Chitrakūṭa was the foremost. Hence the first objection of N. Venkataramanayya to the genuineness of Kollipara plates on the slender plea of their non-mention of all the details of all the achievements of the donor and his father cannot be regarded as well-founded.

The second point of doubt is about the relation and identity of these early rulers with the contemporary rulers of the other Chālukya families. As this genealogy in the Kollipara plates begins with Satyāśraya-Raṇavikrama, some scholars identified him with Pulikēśi I,¹³ the founder of the Chālukya dynasty of Bādāmi who ruled from A.D. 543 to 566. But this Satyāśraya-Raṇavikrama is five generations earlier to Arikēśari I, who lived in the time of Rāshtrakūṭa Nirupama Dhruva who ruled from A.D. 780 to 793. On the basis of this, by allotting 25 years for each generation, we get A.D. 655 as the probable date of commencement of the rule of this Satyāśraya. As such, there is no warrant to identify him with Satyāśraya of the Bādāmi line who was a century ahead of him.

Basing on the similarity of the names of these early rulers with the epithets of the rulers of the Bādāmi family,



scholars like M. Somasekhara Sarma and Muliyaṁ Tīmappayya attempted to identify them with the rulers of the Bādāmi family.¹⁴ But finding that such an identification was replete with problems, Somasekhara Sarma came to the conclusion that there was no scope to identify these rulers with the Bādāmi family. But, unlike him, Tīmappayya went a little further and identified this Vinayāditya-Yuddhamalla with one Vinayāditya-Yuddhamalla of the Lāṭa branch of the Chālukyas. But as he himself pointed out, that there was no correspondence in their fathers' names. The name of the father of Vinayāditya-Yuddhamalla of the Lāṭa branch was Jayasīṃha, whereas the father of Vinayāditya-Yuddhamalla of Kollipara plates was Rājāditya-Prithuvikrama. It does not seem justifiable to think that the same Jayasīṃha of the Lāṭa branch had "Rājāditya" and "Prithuvikrama" as his epithets in these Kollipara plates, as it is not supported by other evidences. The inscriptions of Jayasīṃha of the Lāṭa branch and of his successors nowhere mentioned titles like "Rājāditya" and "Prithuvikrama" for Jayasīṃha. Moreover, the actual name of his son Vinayāditya-Yuddhamalla is Maṅgaḷarasarāja, which is not applicable to the case of this Vinayāditya-Yuddhamalla of the Kollipara plates. Hence, it does not seem proper to accept this identification of Vinayāditya Yuddhamalla with Maṅgaḷarasarāja, even though



they belonged to the self same period. Venkataramanayya also refuted this identity and stated that this Vēmūlavāda branch had no relations or connections with the other branches of the Chālukyas.¹⁵ All this goes to prove that the Vēmūlavāda Chālukya branch was distinct and its early ruler Satyāśraya need not be identified with Satyāśraya Pulikēśi I, who lived a century before him.

B.V. Krishna Rao states that Āditya Varma, a son of Pulikēśi II was the founder of this line.¹⁶ Basing on the coincidence of time, one may assume that Satyāśraya Pulikēśi Vallabha II was the founder of this line. But the genealogical differences make us believe this Satyāśraya is a different king. So this branch may have had its own ancestry; and its authenticity need not be rejected unless strong evidence of considerable contradiction emerges. It may therefore be safely assumed that there are six generations of rulers as stated in the Kollipara plates who are the earliest members of the Chālukya family of Vēmūlavāda.

Thus after consolidating the details of all the genealogies given above, the following genealogy can be formulated.





Among these kings, Vīragriha, the younger brother of Arikēsari I, is known only from the Kuravagaṭṭa epigraph. As he is not in the main line, the sources of the later period might have omitted his name from the usual lists. Similar is the case with Bhadradeva. He is known as the younger son of Arikēsari I, from Vikramāriunaviḷayam and from the Parabhani plates. No other record, even the Vēmulaṇḍa epigraph of Arikēsari II, which is contemporaneous with the Vikramāriunaviḷayam, does not mention this Bhadradeva. Another thing is, the name used for one ruler is mentioned in a different manner in other sources. For example, the names of these very Yuddhamallas are mentioned in Vikramāriunaviḷayam as Dugdhamallas, and in the Karimnagar inscription as Jugdhamallas. But owing to the identity of these kings and the order of succession in the genealogy, all these forms have been treated as the variant names of Yuddhamallas.

The nature of the historical data given by Pampa in the Vikramāriunaviḷayam evoked a good deal of discussion among scholars like J.F. Fleet, M. Somasekhara Sarma, B.V. Krishna Rao, D.L. Narasimhachari and N. Venkataramanayya. In the earlier stages, Fleet attempted to draw the genealogy of this family from Vikramāriunaviḷayam.¹⁷ But probably



owing to the defective nature of the manuscript he consulted or to other similar reasons, he committed many mistakes in the interpretation of the facts. B.V. Krishna Rao followed Fleet in the interpretation of the genealogy given by Pampa.¹⁸ Fleet and B.V. Krishna Rao combined the names of the two sons of Arikēsari I, Narasimha and Bhadradeva, into one and stated that "Narasimha Bhadradeva" was a single person. After a careful review of a number of manuscripts of Vikramārjunavijayam, the Kannada Academy brought out a revised edition; and on its basis, D.L. Narasimhachari reviewed the interpretation given by Fleet and effected corrections in it.¹⁹ Somasekhara Sarma,²⁰ D.L. Narasimhachari²¹ and N. Venkataramanayya²² suggested that Arikēsari I had two sons - Narasimha and Bhadradeva. This interpretation of these scholars is further confirmed by the Parabhaṇi plates of Arikesari III which mention those two as the names of different persons.²³

Next, there are some facts which Pampa alone mentioned. In some of the cases he particularly used some qualifying terms to mean 'elder son' in giving the pedigree of the family, implying thereby that the particular king had more than one son, though their names were not mentioned. Another serious mistake committed by Fleet is about the



family details of Arikēsari II. He introduced one 'Chandrānana' as the wife of Yuddhamalla and mother of Arikēsari II.²⁴ But Pampa nowhere mentioned the name of the wife of Yuddhamalla as "Chandrānana". He does not mention any name in that place either. While describing the beauty of Jā kavve, the wife of Narasiṃha II and the mother of Arikēsari II, Pampa used the epithets "Chandrānana" and 'Vilōlanīlākē'. They should not be mistaken as the names of ladies, but taken as references to the beautiful features of the mother of Arikēsari II. It should be noted that Arikēsari II was not the son of Yuddhamalla, but was born to Narasiṃha II and Jā kavve. Thus Fleet could not give a faithful interpretation to the genealogy given by Pampa. The reconstruction of genealogy by Somasekhara Sarma, Lakshmi Narasiṃhachari and Venkata-ramanyya, is more dependable.

The last portion of the above genealogy is known from the Karimnagar inscription and Parabhaṇi plates. Both were issued in the period of Arikēsari III. The Karimnagar inscription mentions²⁵ the name of his father as Baddeganārasīṅga; the Parabhaṇi plates²⁶ refer to him as Bhadradeva. A short inscription from Vēmula vāḍa²⁷ also mentions his name as Baddegā. Probably Bhadradeva was the variant form of the



name of Baddega, the father of Arikēsari III. The position of Vāgarāja as the elder brother of this Bhadradeva is known from Yaśastilaka. It states that Vāgarāja, the elder son of Arikēsari, was ruling at Gaṅgādhara in A.D. 959. On the basis of this date, he is identified as the elder son of Arikēsari II.

Chronology:

Now to their chronology. The following are either the dates or synchronisms that come to our help in formulating a tentative chronology for this branch of Chālukyas.

i) The Vemulavāda inscription and Parabhaṇi plates describe Arikēsari I as the conqueror of Vēṅgī. This evidence is corroborated by the Vikramādiya-vijayam which states that the conquest took place during the reign of Nirupama Dēva, i.e. the Rāshtrakūṭa monarch Nirupama Dhruva, who ruled from A.D. 780 to 793.

ii) Viragṛiha, the younger son of Vinayāditya-Yuddhamalla I and brother of Arikēsari I is stated in the Kuravagaṭṭa epigraph,²⁸ as a good friend of Gōvindavallabha, son of Kalivallabha of the Rāshtrakūṭa family. Kalivallabha is a well-known title of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Nirupama Dhruva (A.D. 780-793) and Gōvindavallabha is obviously his son



Gōvinda III (A.D. 793-814). Being a friend of Gōvinda, Viragriha must have lived at this time.

iii) On palaeographical basis, the date of the Kollipara plates of Arikēsari I is assigned to the early part of the 9th Century A.D.²⁹

iv) Baddega, the great grandson of Arikēsari I is said in the above sources³⁰ to have captured a king called Bhīma. This Bhīma is identified³¹ as Chālukya Bhīma I, who ruled Vēngī from A.D. 892 to 922. Further, the Eastern Chālukya inscriptions³² mention Baddega, who is identified with this Vēmūlavāda Baddega, who was given protection by Guṇaga Vijayāditya, the predecessor of Chālukya Bhīma I.³³ Thus, it is evident that Baddega was a contemporary both of Guṇaga Vijayāditya and Chālukya Bhīma I. He appears to have lived in the last quarter of the 9th Century A.D.³⁴

v) Vikramārijunavijayam described³⁵ Narasimha II's son Arikēsari II as having been fondled on the shoulders of Indra, which served him as his cradle. In another context,³⁶ it states that no one else except Arikēsari deserved to sit upon the 'ardhāsana' of Indra. Basing on these allusions, scholars like M. Govinda Pai³⁷ and N. Venkataramanayya³⁸ put forward a suggestion that Jākavve,



the mother of Arikēsari II and wife of Narasimha II, was a sister of Rāshtrakūṭa Indra III (A.D. 915-29); though direct proof is lacking, this suggestion indicates what is quite probable. Moreover, Narasimha II is credited with almost all the conquests, which were attributed to Indra III in the Cambay plates of Gōvinda IV.³⁹ Probably Narasimha II took an active part in these campaigns of the Rāshtrakūṭas. Taking all these into consideration the contemporaneity of Narasimha II and Rāshtrakūṭa Indra III (A.D. 915-29) may be safely assumed.

vi) The date of Arikēsari II is not known either from his Vēmulaṅga inscription or the Vikramāṇṇavāṇṇam. But he was definitely the contemporary of at least three Rāshtrakūṭa monarchs. In the first place, he was the nephew (sister's son) and son-in-law of Indra III (A.D. 915-29).⁴⁰ Later, he revolted against Gōvinda IV (A.D. 929-35), and protected Chāḷukya Vijayāditya of Mudigonda,⁴¹ and was instrumental in compassing Gōvinda's ruin and placing upon the Rāshtrakūṭa throne Baddega Amōghavarsha III (A.D. 935-939).⁴²

vii) The Chennūr inscription of Baddega,⁴³ grandson of Kusumāyudha I of the Mudigonda Chāḷukya family, states that there is one ruler by name Arikēsari in A.D. 941.



viii) The composition of Yaśastilaka by Sōmadēvasūri was completed on Chaitra, ma(i)thuna, trayōdaśī of Siddhārthī, corresponding to A.D. 959.⁴⁴ It is said that on that date Vāgarāja a son of Chālukya Arikēsari, a sāmanta of Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III, was ruling in Gaṅgādhara and was in camp at Mēlpāḍi in the present Chittoor district of Andhra Pradesh. This Sōmadēvasūri is known from a record of Baddega,⁴⁵ the younger brother of Vāgarāja and father of Arikēsari III. Further, the same Sōmadēvasūri figures as the donee of the Parabhani plates of Arikesari III.⁴⁶ This grant was made on Wednesday, Vaisākha, Pūrṇamāsyā, of the year Kshaya, Ś.888 i.e. A.D. 966. Another inscription of Arikēsari III dated in A.D. 946 is found recently in Karimnagar,⁴⁷ which happens to give the earliest known date of Arikēsari III. Lastly, the same Arikēsari is referred to in another inscription dated A.D. 968 located at Rēpaka in the Karimnagar district.⁴⁸

With the help of the dated inscriptions of kings and of the data concerning the contemporaneity of the Chālukyas of Vēmulaṇḍa with the Rāshtrakūṭas, the following chronology may be formulated.



	A.D.
Satyāśraya-Raṇavikrama	- 650-75
Prithivīpati	- 675-700
Mahārāja	- 700-725
Rājāditya	- 725-750
Vinayāditya-Yuddhamalla I	- 750-775
Arikēsari I	- 775-800
Narasimha I	- 800-825
Yuddhamalla II	- 825-850
Baddega	- 850-895
Yuddhamalla III	- 895-915
Narasimha II	- 915-930
Arikēsari II	- 930-941
Vāgarāja	- 941-959
Bhadradeva	- 941-946
Arikēsari III	- 946-968

In this scheme of dating, except in cases where definite chronological details are available, a period of twenty-five years is assigned to each generation. Viragriha is not supplied with regnal period, as he was not mentioned as ruler. He is stated to be in association with Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvinda III (A.D. 793-814). But such association as companion to Rāshtrakūṭa princes was a common practice



for the Princes of this family, in later times as well; and hence he has not been included as a ruler. Baddega, the contemporary of both Guṇaga Vijayāditya and Chāḷukya Bhīma I is allotted a lengthy period of forty-five years. As he was the hero of forty-two battles, this allotment is not unjustifiable. Next, in the case of Arikēsari II, N. Venkataramanayya⁴⁹ provided him with a rule of twenty-five years, i.e. from A.D. 930 to 955; but his reign must have ended in A.D. 941, the last date in which mention of him was made in the Chennūr record.⁵⁰ An inscription of his successor and grandson Arikēsari III is discovered recently, bearing the date A.D. 946 in Karimnagar.⁵¹ The same inscription leads us to place Bhadradeva, the father of Arikēsari III, in between A.D. 941 and A.D. 946, the last date of Arikēsari II and the earliest date of Arikēsari III, on the throne of Vēmulaṇḍa. But Yasastilaka states⁵² that Vāgarāja, the elder son of Chāḷukya Arikēsari was ruling from his headquarters Gaṅgādhara in A.D. 959. Except in that, nowhere else is he stated as a ruler. For some reasons, which are not known at present, he must have left his paternal kingdom to his younger brother Bhadradeva and gone to Gaṅgādhara, which is near Vēmulaṇḍa, also in the Karimnagar district. So it is clear that after the death of Arikēsari II in A.D. 941, the kingdom was divided between Vāgarāja and



Bhadradeva. Bhadradeva ruled upto A.D. 946 and was succeeded by Arikēsari III in Vēmulavāḍa. D.L. Narasimha-chari suggests⁵³ that Vāgarāja might have gone to the Gaṅga country in Karnāṭaka. But on the basis of the statement found in Yaśastilaka he was the ruler in A.D. 939 in Gaṅgādhara. It may therefore be concluded that Vāgarāja left Vēmulavāḍa to his brother Bhadradeva and established his rule over another part of the same kingdom with Gaṅgādhara as his capital.

VINAYĀDITYA-YUDDHAMALLA I (A.D. 750-775)

The political history of the first four rulers of this Branch upto Vinayāditya-Yuddhamalla is shrouded in obscurity. No details about them are forthcoming in the records. Except the Kollipara plates,⁵⁴ all the remaining sources omit mention of even their names. Satyāśraya entitled Raṇavikrama is the first known ruler of this family. He is said to have belonged to the Lunar race. To him was born a son called Prithivīpati. Prithivīpati's son was Mahārāja who in turn begot Rājāditya entitled Prithuvikrama. This king Rājāditya is the father of the first celebrated king of this family, Vinayāditya-Yuddhamalla.



Vinayāditya-Yuddhamalla was described as a great conqueror. His conquests are exaggerated in Kollipara plates.⁵⁵ wherein the kings of several countries such as Turushka, Yavana, Barbara, Kāsmīra, Kāmbhōja, Magadha, Mālava, Kāliṅga, Gaṅga, Pallava, Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa are said to have offered worship at his feet. The records of the later rulers of this family describe some of these achievements and ignore this list of countries. The Vēmula-vāda inscription of Arikēsari II endows him with some important achievements. He is said to have ruled over the Sapādalaksha country which could not be governed by others, to have caused all his elephants to be bathed in a reservoir filled with oil at Pōdana, and to have captured the inaccessible fort of Chitrakūṭa. Though the Vikramāriuna-vijayam and Parabhani plates omit his conquest of Chitrakūṭa, they mention his rule in the country of Sapādalaksha. The Vikramāriunavijayam further mentions that the elephants were five hundred in number, and they bathed not in one but a number of reservoirs filled with oil.

1) His Rule Over the Sapādalaksha Country:

It appears, from the order of events described in the sources, that the establishment of Vinayāditya Yuddhamalla's rule over the country of Sapādalaksha may be considered



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as his first important achievement. But these sources are not in a position to help us identify this region. Even then, the name of the country of Sapādalaksha is not utterly unknown to literature and inscriptions. Śrutasāgara, the commentator of Sōmadēvasūri's Yaśastilaka locates this Sapādalaksha in the country of Āśmantaka.⁵⁶ Pāṅkuriki Sōmanātha (C. A.D. 1300), a well-known Vīra Śaiva poet of Medieval Andhra used this term Sapādalaksha in his Panditārādhya-charitra not as a proper name but as a term indicating numerical appellations of the countries Nēpaḷa, Kēdāra, Tirkārti, Kāśmīra, Kannoja, Kōṅkaṇa and Kaṇṇiṅga.⁵⁷

Another reference to Sapādalaksha is found in the Chitodghad inscription of the Chālukya king, Kumārapāla of Gujarat, dated A.D. 1150-51, in which it is stated that the king defeated the ruler of Śākambhari.⁵⁸ He is said to have devastated the country of Sapādalaksha and lay encamped at Śālipura at the foot of the Chitrakūṭa mountain. The Sapādalaksha country mentioned in this record corresponds to Śākambhari, the modern Śambhār territory in the Eastern Rajasthan; and K.A.N. Sastri suggested⁵⁹ this Śākambhari as the Sapādalaksha country, where Vinayāditya-Yuddhamalla I ruled.



N. Venkataramanayya⁶⁰ also accepted this territory of Eastern Rajasthan to be the Sapādalaksha where the king Vinayāditya-Yuddhamalla was said to have ruled. He did not satisfactorily explain how this southern prince with his limited authority imposed his rule on such a far distant region as Śākambhari. As it is highly impossible for Vinayāditya to undertake such a huge conquest, Venkataramanayya thought that in all likelihood this Chālukya prince might have accompanied the Rāshtrakūṭa Dantidurga as a faithful subordinate during the latter's expedition to Mālava, Lāṭa, Tāṅka, and Sindhu where he held sway over Sapādalaksha. Vinayāditya-Yuddhamalla and Rāshtrakūṭa Dantidurga are contemporaries; and also Dantidurga is credited with similar conquests in the Rāshtrakūṭa records.⁶¹ No doubt these successes might have been achieved by Dantidurga with the cooperation of this Chālukya prince. Vinayāditya's successors might have been under nominal subordination to the Rāshtrakūṭas. From this, it cannot be concluded that Vinayāditya was a subordinate of Dantidurga. Their relations could have been friendly and cordial as equal partners in their conquests. Vinayāditya might have been a friendly ally of the Rāshtrakūṭas. The identification of Sapādalaksha with the Eastern Rajasthan led scholars to



conclude that Vinayāditya-Yuddhamalla was a subordinate of the Rāshtrakūṭas. It may here be pointed out that none of the successors of Vinayāditya-Yuddhamalla, not even his son Arikēsari I, claims any rule in the provinces of Eastern Rājasthan. Their rule is confined only to Telanḡaṇa in Andhra Pradesh. As such to identify Sapādalaksha with Śākambhari in Eastern Rājasthan seems to be without justification. Śākambhari may be one among the Sapādalaksha countries which are enumerated by Pāṭkuriki Somanātha in his Panditārādhya-charitra; but not the Sapādalaksha of our present discussion.

A later inscription⁶² of the time of the Chāluḡyas of Kalyāṇa at Vēmulaṇḡa dated A.D. 1083 refers to Kosavalam-savālakshkhē (a Kannada rendering of Sapādalaksha), a part of which is said to have been under the rule of a Chieftain in the service of Vikramāditya VI.

The researches of N. Lakshminarayana Rao and M. Venkataramayya thoroughly confirm⁶³ that the area covered by the Karimnagar and Nizamabad districts of Andhra Pradesh constitute the country of Sapādalaksha. Vikramāriṇaviṇayam and Vēmulaṇḡa inscription glorify the fact that Yuddhamalla, the lord of Sapādalaksha had his elephants bathed in wells filled with oil, at Pōḡana, i.e., the modern Bodhan in the



Nizamabad district. It would show that Bodhan was included in the dominions of Yuddhamalla. The Parabhani plates of Arikēsari III register a grant of the village Vāṇikatupula situated in Rēpāka-12, a subdivision of Sabbī-1000. G.H. Khare identifies Rēpāka mentioned in these plates with a village of the same name in the Karimnagar district.⁶⁴ Moreover, a recently found inscription at Rēpāka dated A.D. 968, i.e., in the period of Arikēsari III, mentions Atukūru as a fief given to the followers of the Jaina faith.⁶⁵ In the Pālampet pillar inscription of Kākatiya Rudradēva, Rēcherla Rudra is stated to have built temples at this place Atukūru, which has been identified with a place of that name about 10 miles north-east of Warangal.⁶⁶ Thus, a number of inscriptions locate Sabbisāyira in the areas of Warangal and Karimnagar districts. Sabbī Vishaya was evidently a smaller division in the bigger province of Savālakshē (Sapādalaksha) which comprised at least the central and eastern portion of Telangāna.

Though its actual extent and boundaries cannot be demarcated with certainty, it may be safely assumed that this Sapādalaksha comprised at least the Nizamabad and Karimnagar districts of Andhra Pradesh.

11) Bath of his Elephants in the Tanks filled with Oil at Bodhani

Next to their establishment of his sway over Sapādalaksha,



region, was mentioned, as his second achievement, his arrangements for his elephants to be bathed in a reservoir filled with oil at Pōdana. This, no doubt, is an interesting fact, but of no historical consequence. As noted already his elephants, which bathed not in one but in a number of 'dīrghikas' filled with oil, were five hundred in number. Pōdana is identified with the present Bodhan in the Nizamabad district of Andhra Pradesh. As N. Venkataramanayya opined,⁶⁷ Pōdana was probably the capital of Vinayāditya-Yuddhamalla. Though it is at present a small village, it has an ancient glory going back to the age of the Buddha. An inscription of 11th Century⁶⁸ mentions Bodhan as a capital town which had gone to ruin in course of time.

The inaccessible fort of Chitrakūṭa, which Vinayāditya is said to have captured is not identified. As there are a number of forts with that name in the North and Central parts of India which played a prominent role in contemporary history, its identification bristles with difficulties.

Though for long Yuddhamalla remained independent and avoided political subordination, in the last years of his rule, it seems, he had to face the same fate which commonly overwhelmed the rulers of intermedial states in the conflicts of big rival powers. In A.D. 770 the Vēhgi



Chālukya emperor, Vishṇuvardhana IV, was attacked by the Rāshtrakūṭa power under the command of Yuvarāja Gōvinda.⁶⁹

In this context, the Rāshtrakūṭa forces camped on the region of the confluence of the rivers, Mūsi and the Kṛishṇa, i.e., on the territory ruled by Yuddhamalla. This could not have happened unless they secured the support of Yuddhamalla. Thus was Yuddhamalla dragged into the vortex of conflict of superior powers.

ARIKĒSARI I (A.D. 775-800)

Arikēsari I succeeded his father Vinayāditya-Yuddhamalla. His inscriptions state that he conquered the kingdom of Vēṅgī and Trikaṭṭiṅga during the time of Nirupamadēva,⁷⁰ who was no other than the Rāshtrakūṭa king Dhārāvarsha Druva and who ruled in between A.D. 780 and 793. Arikēsari's Kollipara plates furnish no information of special value pertaining to his career. They speak of him as a learned prince proficient in grammar, gajatantra, logic, archery and medicine. His titles as mentioned in the records are 'Samastalōkāśraya', 'Tribhuvanamalla', 'Rājatrinētra' and 'Sāhasarāma'.

The causes for his conquest of Vēṅgī and Trikaṭṭiṅga are not known. N. Venkataramanayya observes that the involvement



of the prince was due to their vassalage under the Rāshtrakūṭas, who wanted to occupy Vēngī and Trikaṭiṅga.⁷¹ Mutual rivalry in the royal families of Vēngī and Māḷkhēḍ was the main reason for this conquest. By this time Rāshtrakūṭa Dantidurga Vanquished the Chālukya ruler of Bādāmi and took possession of the Chālukya dominions. Regarding themselves as the political heirs of the Bādāmi family, the Rāshtrakūṭas naturally attempted to enforce their authority on Vēngī Chālukya family also, an off-shoot of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi. This plunged Vēngī in a prolonged war which lasted with interruptions for two hundred years, until the Rāshtrakūṭa authority was finally overthrown. It is also suspected that the early campaigns were intended to teach a lesson to the Chālukyas of Vēngī, who helped Rāhappa, a Chālukya hero of the Deccan, who harassed the mighty empire of the Rāshtrakūṭas for some time.⁷² From the Kuravagaṭṭa inscription it is evident that at least some of the areas around Mahaboobnagar district were occupied by the Rāshtrakūṭa forces.⁷³ Where and when Arikēsari I helped the Rāshtrakūṭa monarch Dhruva in conquering the Chālukya rulers of Vēngī is not known. This campaign on Vēngī took place before A.D. 793, the last date of Dhruva. Friendly relations were known to exist between the princes of Rāshtrakūṭa family and the Vēmulaṇḍa



Chālukya family as could be gathered from the Kuruvagatta epigraph. Owing partly to the subordination of the family to Rāshtrakūṭas it became obligatory for Arikēsari I to help Dhruva in that campaign on Vēngī and Trikaṭiṅga. As the then Vēngī Chālukya monarch, Vishṇuvardhana IV, helped Gōvinda II, the rival brother of Dhruva, in the struggle for succession, the victorious Dhruva despatched his friend and Chief supporter, Arikēsari I, against Vēngī and Trikaṭiṅga. B.V. Krishna Rao⁷⁴ is of opinion that Vishṇuvardhana IV seems to have joined the confederacy not so much out of love for his erstwhile enemy Gōvinda II, but apparently with the object of avenging his wrongs and of recovering the territories lost by him during the earlier campaign.⁷⁵ Even though the conquest of Arikēsari I is not referred to in the Vēngī Chālukya records, the records of Vemulavāḍa Chālukyas confirm his conquest of Vēngī and Trikaṭiṅga. His success is also known from another event of far-reaching benefits. The defeated Vēngī Chālukya king Vishṇuvardhana IV gave his daughter Śīlamahādēvī in marriage to the Rāshtrakūṭa monarch.⁷⁶ Thus, Arikēsari I, whose kingdom's borders linked the two mighty empires of Vēngī and Māḷkhēḍ, was successful in bringing those monarchs closer with this matrimonial alliance. This is a far-sighted step taken by this Chālukya prince to ensure peace and



prosperity not only to his own province but to the entire Deccan at least for a few years.

The actual extent of Arikēsari's kingdom is not known. The location of the gift village Belmoga and the identification of its surrounding villages are not known. But the reference to Śrīsaṭṭa and Ēlēsvaram point to his authority over the Kurnool, Nalgonda, Mahabubnagar and Karimnagar districts of the present Andhra Pradesh. He was the first known ruler of this Branch to have issued inscriptions on his own authority.

Arikēsari I was succeeded not by his brother Vīragriha but by his son Narasimha I. Narasimha I in turn was succeeded by his son Yuddhamalla II. No achievements of these two rulers are known from the sources. Thus probably for about fifty years the history of this family is obscure. This shade is removed when the son and successor of Yuddhamalla II, the 'unvanquished hero' of his family, ascended the throne.

SŌLADA-GANĀA-BADDEGA (A.D. 850-895)

Baddega entitled Sōlada-Gaṇḍa is the most distinguished ruler of this line. His achievements are described in almost all the sources. He was the hero of forty-two battles and



hence obtained the title 'Sōlada-Gaṇḍa' which means 'unvanquished hero'. In these battles, a number of enemies suffered defeat at his hands. Among those the most important prince was Bhīma, whom he captured as if he seized a crocodile in water. This prince Bhīma is identified with Chālukya Bhīma I, the nephew of Guṇagaviḥayāditya and ruler of Vēṅgī from A.D. 892. The cause of dispute was partly the family feud between Rāshtrakūṭas and Vēṅgī Chālukyas. As the Chālukya kingdom of Vēmulaṇvāḍa lay between those two mighty powers, it had to face often the brunt of all their disputes. Its territorial neighbourliness was mostly exploited by the Rāshtrakūṭas who pushed it to brave the consequences of their expeditions over Vēṅgī. It became compulsory for Chālukya Chiefs of Vēmulaṇvāḍa to act in accordance with the whims and fancies of the Rāshtrakūṭa monarchs and to play a prominent part in the Rāshtrakūṭa-Eastern Chālukya relations.

As already stated the hostility between these two mighty empires started with a war by Rāshtrakūṭa Gōṇvinda II in A.D. 770. His Alas plates⁷⁷ describe that Vēṅgī king was humbled and forced to cede his treasury, his forces and his country. These strained relations were set at rest when Arikēsari I brought about the marriage alliance between



these two rival groups.⁷⁸ But this peace did not last long; and old rancours and bitterness rankled in the successive rulers in both the lines; and they tried their fortunes in the battle-fields.⁷⁹ When a powerful king occupied one throne, it became natural for him to vanquish the ruler of the other side in retaliation of their past invasions and humiliations. A number of Vēṅgī Chālukya records allude to the utter defeat of Rāshtrakūṭa Krishna II at the hands of Guṇaga Vijayāditya and his warrior general Paṇḍaranga.⁸⁰ Rāshtrakūṭa Krishna II and his follower Vēmulaṇḍa Chālukya Baddega suffered defeat and humiliation at the hands of Guṇaga Vijayāditya, the greatest Chālukya ruler of Vēṅgī. The Eastern Chālukya inscriptions⁸¹ state that Baddega was captured by Guṇaga Vijayāditya, and was offered protection. He was identified with Baddega of the Vēmulaṇḍa Chālukya family.⁸²

Baddega was offered protection in the court of Guṇaga Vijayāditya under whose government the ablest commanders like Paṇḍaranga served.⁸³ Probably this incident occurred during the advance of Paṇḍaranga into the Dāhala country.⁸⁴ Krishna II and Baddega could not score any victory during the lifetime of Guṇaga and Paṇḍaranga.⁸⁵ It is only after the death of Guṇaga Vijayāditya, i.e., after A.D. 892, that they dared to attack Vēṅgī.



After the death of Gunaga, the situation in Vēngī was favourable to the enemy, as there were many rival claimants to the Vēngī throne, who opposed the accession of Chālukya Bhīma I, the heir-apparent to the Vēngī throne. They looked for external help for fulfilling their designs on the throne. From the Eastern Chālukya records, it is known that in this period the Rāshtrakūṭas invaded Vēngī more than once.⁸⁶ The Chiefs of Vemulavāda and other subordinates might have also accompanied them in these expeditions. In the Koravi inscription of the period of Niravadya,⁸⁷ a Mudigonda Chālukya and a subordinate of Chālukya Bhīma I, it is said that Kannara Ballaha, i.e., Kṛishṇa II of the Rāshtrakūṭas invaded Vēngī. But the Chālukya princes of Mudigonda, helped Chālukya Bhīma I, in repelling the forces of the Rāshtrakūṭas. But the Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa II and Baddega whose chief aim is to overthrow Chālukya Bhīma I, made repeated attempts to subdue Vēngī.⁸⁸ During these attempts, their forces were crushed in two battles one at Peruvaṅgūru and another at Niravadyapura by Iṛamartī-gaṇḍa, the heroic son of Chālukya Bhīma, who lost his life on the battle-field.⁸⁹

Whether Chālukya Bhīma I participated in these battles at Peruvaṅgūru and Niravadyapura or not we do not know. But it was a fact that Bhīma I was captured by Baddega;



but no definite evidence is available to know the correct occasion when the capture took place, whether during these battles or earlier. Records of the Vēngī and Mudigonda Chālukya families keep silent in this matter. But a simile used firstly by Pampa in his Vikramāraṇavilāsa and later in the Parabhaṇi plates, in describing this incident,⁹⁰ offers valuable information about this fact. Baddega is stated in them as one who captured Bhīma as if he seized a crocodile in water. The significance of the simile is that it is as difficult to capture Bhīma in his own kingdom as it is to seize the crocodile in water. It goes a step further in suggesting that Baddega effected this capture in the natural environment of Chālukya Bhīma, the water fort of Kunāla (or Kollēru). But this capture seems to have had no major effects, except that his heroic son lost his life in the course of the battles in which he wreaked revenge and crushed the enemy forces. It seems that Bhīma later escaped from captivity and resumed the government of his kingdom.

Thus Baddega, who was reputed as the 'un-vanquished hero', was successful in seizing Chālukya Bhīma I, in retaliation for the humiliation done to him in the time of Guṇaga Vijayāditya, the predecessor of Chālukya Bhīma I. The other



details of his achievements are not known. His sway extended, perhaps, as far as Bastar, the ancient Chakrakūṭa-maṇḍala which was situated immediately to the north-east of his dominions on the other side of the Gōdāvarī.⁹¹ Even though he is said to have been 'the hero of forty-two battles', information about his enemies or circumstances in which he came into conflict with them is not known. Some of these wars might have been directed towards chieftains like the Chālukyas of Mudigonda. But the Chālukya chiefs of Mudigonda were always helped by the Chālukyas of Vēṅgī in opposing such aggressions. After experiencing so many ups and downs in his lengthy political career spanning roughly 45 years i.e., after A.D. 895 he was succeeded by his son Yuddhamalla III.

Yuddhamalla III (895-915 A.D.) ruled his paternal kingdom peacefully. His activities, personal or political, are not noted either in the inscriptions or in the literature of the period of his successors. This shows that he had no achievements of importance to his credit.

NARASIṂHA II (A.D. 915-930)

Narasimha II succeeded his father Yuddhamalla III in Circa A.D. 915. He was a powerful warrior and one



of the greatest military leaders of his age. With a sword in his hand, he won a number of battles, proceeded as far as the river Ganges and left the impress of his personality on the annals of his day. His successors cherish his memory in their own narrations. He is said to have scored victories single-handed in all these battles in the regions of Central and Northern India. His important achievements are graphically described in the Vikramāraṇaviṇaya of Pampa⁹² and in the Vemulavāḍa inscription of Arikēsari II.⁹³ As both these sources belong to the self-same period of Arikēsari II, the son and successor of Narasimha II, they might have stated all these achievements with personal knowledge about those conquests. He is said to have conquered the Lāṭas and reduced the Seven Mēlavas to ashes and collected tribute from their rulers. He defeated the Gūrjara king Mahipāla and subjugated his kingdom. He marched as far as river Ganges and bathed his horses in the waters of that river. He mounted his sword on a stone pillar of victory which he raised at Kālapriya. N. Venkataramanayya doubts⁹⁴ whether all these conquests, attributed to this Narasimha, actually belong to him. He observed that in the Cambay plates of Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvinda IV,⁹⁵ most of these achievements are attributed to Rāshtrakūṭa Indra III,



the father of Gōvinda IV. As both Nārasimha II and Indra III were contemporaries, and as the conquered areas were also one and the same, they refer to the same campaigns. Nārasimha II and Indra III were friends and relatives; and, in addition, Nārasimha might have also been a feudatory of Rāshtrakūṭa Indra III; and so both of them might have been associated as joint victors in these campaigns.

In the Vikramādiṇavijayam, it is said that Arikēsari II, the son of Nārasimha, had Indra's shoulder in his childhood for his cradle. It has also been suggested that Jākavvē, the mother of Arikēsari II, was the sister of Indra III.⁹⁶ Though Nārasimha's marriage with the sister of Indra III was not specifically mentioned anywhere, it need not be dismissed as implausible. Matrimonial alliances in these families are evident as in the case of Rēvakanirmadī, the daughter of Indra III being given in marriage to Arikēsari II. Hence the suggestion that Jākavvē, the sister of Indra III, was the wife of Nārasimha II can be accepted. Whatever be their kinship, Indra III entirely depended upon the strength of Nārasimha II, the military genius of the age, in all his campaigns.



The main object of these expeditions was to drive out the Gūjara-Pratihāra forces from the dominions of the Rāshtrakūṭas. The records of the successors of Narasimha describe the order of events of this campaign. Lāṭa seems to have been the first country that was attacked by Narasimha. After its conquest he marched towards Sapta-Mālavas and subjugated them. Their chiefs were compelled to submit as subordinates to the Rāshtrakūṭas and to pay them the annual tribute. Next, he proceeded towards Kālapriya which is on the banks of the Jamuna, where Mahipāla, the king of the Gūjaras, encamped with all his forces to oppose him. A sanguinary fight took place and Narasimha vanquished Mahipāla. After allowing his horses to drench themselves and have their fill with the waters of the Ganges, he erected a stone pillar at Kālapriya to commemorate his victories in these campaigns. Opinion differs⁹⁷ in identifying this locality, Kālapriya. It is generally taken to be the same as the place where the shrine of Mahākāḷa stands at Ujjain. But Mahākāḷa could not be Kālapriya, though both of these deities are the different forms of Śiva. Altekar also considered the identification of Kālapriya with Ujjain as uncertain.⁹⁸ Ujjain had never been known as Kālapriya. The editor of the Cambay plates of Gōvinda IV suggests⁹⁹ that the temple of Kālapriya stood somewhere



on the other bank of Jamuna. Hence it is identified with Kālpī, where there is a temple of Kālapriya; and this is on the southern bank of Jamuna. From this it could be concluded that Narasimha II made his expeditions as far as the Gaṅgā-Jamuna doab.

Only because of his martial calibre and leadership that Narasimha II could rise to such unusual heights, which an ordinary chieftain with limited authority never dare dream of. Though these military campaigns were undertaken on behalf of his brother-in-law and Emperor Indra III, he would have raised the prestige of his family in the eyes of the rulers of the Deccan.

Except these martial deeds, the records reveal nothing about the internal prosperity or allied social and cultural matters. He ruled only for a period of fifteen years i.e. from A.D. 915 to 930; and was succeeded by his son and successor Arikēsari II.

ARIKĒSARI II (A.D. 930-941)

Among all the Chālukya chiefs of Vēmulaṇḍa, Arikēsari II was the most famous ruler. Sources of vital information like the Vikramāraṇaviṇaya and Vemulavāḍa pillar inscription belong to his period. He is known to be a scholar, a warrior, an administrator, a great builder and a patron of let



Under his patronage, the first literary masterpiece in Kannada literature, Vikramāriṇaviṇayam was written. The 'Āditya-griha' in Vēmulavāda was built during his regime. This munificent king protected Chālukya Bijja and Rāshtrakūṭa Baddega from the wrath of their powerful enemy, Gōvinda IV. His strength and diplomatic skill were solely responsible in dethroning the Rāshtrakūṭa emperor Gōvinda IV and in offering that throne to Baddega-Amōghavarsha III. Thus in many respects Arikēsari II was the most remarkable personage of his family.

The Vēmulavāda inscription¹⁰⁰ and Vikramāriṇaviṇayam¹⁰¹ mention a number of titles of Arikēsari II like Pāmarāmkuśa, Ammanagandhavārana, Gandhēbhavidyādharā, Ārūḍhasarvajña, Udāttanārāyaṇa, Noduttigelva, Guṇanidhi, Guṇārṇava, Śaranāgata-vajrapañjara, Priyagalla, Tribhuvanamalla and Sāmantachūdāmaṇi.

Arikēsari II succeeded to the throne probably around A.D. 930. He was the son of Narasimha II by Jākavve, in all probability the sister of Rāshtrakūṭa Indra III. It is described in Vikramāriṇaviṇayam that Arikēsari II enjoyed Indra's shoulder as his cradle in his childhood.¹⁰² Later, he married Rēvakanirmadī, the daughter of Indra III, and Lōkāmbikā, another Rāshtrakūṭa princess. Thus Rēvakanirmadī the Chief Queen of Arikēsari II, must have been the sister



or half-sister of Amoghavarsha II and Govinda IV, the sons and successors of Indra III. From this it is evident that Arikēsari II was closely related to the royal family of the Rāshtrakūṭas and this necessitated his playing a notable role in their internal affairs also.

Rāshtrakūṭa Indra III died in A.D. 928 or 929, shortly before the death of his brother-in-law and subordinate, Nṛasiṃha II. Immediately his eldest son Amoghavarsha II succeeded to the throne and ruled for one year. But his younger brother Govinda IV, who had his own designs to become the emperor assassinated him and usurped the throne. But he could not enjoy any peace owing to the increasing number of opponents who disliked his immoral ways and wickedness. His paternal uncle Baddega and Baddega's son Kṛishṇa had their plans to overthrow Govinda IV and to occupy the throne. Govinda IV was alert enough to watch their activities; and to banish them from the country. In their exile, they gathered the disgruntled elements in and outside the kingdom and planned a great rebellion against Govinda IV. Probably, the Chālukyas of Vēṅgī, the Chālukyas of Mudigonda, the princes of the western Gaṅgas and this Vēmulaṇḍa prince, Arikēsari II, has their respective shares in supporting the rebellion to overthrow the wicked Govinda IV. All these



rulers had their own separate reasons for participating in this rebellion. The aim of the Chālukyas of Vēṅgī in supporting this rebellion was to teach a lesson to Gōvinda IV, who encouraged rebellions in the Vēṅgī kingdom and polluted the Vēṅgī politics. Probably they created troubles through their subordinate Chālukya kings of Mudigonda, whose estates bordered the country of the Rāshtrakūṭas. Similarly, the other Chieftains also had their own interests in participating in this struggle with Gōvinda IV. But it is not known why Arikēsari II, who married the sister or half-sister of Gōvinda IV, supported this rebellion against Gōvinda IV. Probably he was annoyed with Gōvinda whose overvaulting ambition made him so wicked as to assassinate his own elder brother to secure the throne for himself.

Offended by these inimical activities in the neighbouring countries, Gōvinda IV got ready to face the consequences and sent a huge army against Bijja or Vijayita, the Chālukya Chief of Mudigonda.¹⁰⁴ Even though Vijayita was a loyal subordinate of the Chālukyas of Vēṅgī, the political chaos and confusion resulting from the succession struggles afforded him the best opportunity to declare independence. But his younger brother Niravadya, who was waiting for an opportunity to occupy the throne of Koravi made alliance



with Chālukya Bhīma of Vēngī. Disappointed at this unexpected turn in the situation, Bijja or Vijayāditya took flight to the court of Vēmūlavāda for protection. Arikēsari II gave asylum to Vijayāditya in his court. Gōvinda IV (who is referred to in the sources as Gojjiga) sent a Mahāsāmanta at the head of a large army to vanquish Bijja as well as his protector Arikēsari II. But this huge army seems to have met with failure. Vikarmājunaviḷayam and the Vēmūlavāda inscription confirm¹⁰⁵ the victory of Arikēsari II over the forces of Gōvinda IV. This success of Arikēsari II inspired the opponents with confidence in his competence. And the claimants of the Mālkheḍ throne, Baddega and his son Krishna, came under the banner of Arikēsari II.¹⁰⁶ Arikēsari II who knew pretty well that Gōvinda was not the person to hold back for long took time by the forelock and launched at attack on Gōvinda. Yuvarājadēva, the father-in-law of Baddega, Būtuga, Baddega's son-in-law might have thrown in their weight in his behalf in this campaign. It is not at all improbable that as a shrewd judge of the contemporary political scene, Arikēsari II, who appears to have been determined to compass the ruin of Gōvinda IV, invited Chālukya Bhīma of Vēngī to revolt against him. At last Gōvinda IV was utterly defeated by the cumulative hostile forces and was driven out of the kingdom



Based on the words used by Pampa, B.V. Krishna Rao thinks that Gōvinda was killed on the battle-field.¹⁰⁷ But N. Venkataramanayya suggests,¹⁰⁸ on the basis of the records of Vīramadēviyār, the Chief Queen of Gōvinda, that he fled to the court of his father-in-law, Parāntaka Chōḷa I. Arikēsari II bestowed the empire of Mālkhēḍ on Baddega, who assumed power under the name Amōghavarsha III.

Even after the accession of Amōghavarsha III to the throne of Mālkhēḍ, Arikēsari II played a role in the politics of the Rāshtrakūṭas. Amōghavarsha III was not in a position to maintain his authority as a number of great feudatories like Kakkala and Bappuva were hostile to him. Hence he requested his 'Sāmanta-Chūdāmaṇi' Arikēsari II once again to come to his rescue and crush those enemies. It is said in the sources that when an 'aṅkakāra' of Bappuva attacked Arikēsari, the latter vanquished and drove him single-handed.

It is not definitely known, who were Kakkala and his younger brother Bappuva. Barnett,¹⁰⁹ B.V. Krishna Rao¹¹⁰ and A.S. Altekar¹¹¹ thought that Kakkala was no other than the last Rāshtrakūṭa monarch Kakkala II. But K.A. Nilakanta Sastri¹¹² and N. Venkataramanayya¹¹³ reject this view as Kakkala II came to power in A.D. 972, long after Arikēsari II's death. In the Deoli plates¹¹⁴ dated A.D. 940, a chief named



Bappuka is referred to as the enemy of Amōghavarsha III, the father of Kṛishṇa III. N. Venkataramanayya pointed out that Bappuka might be a variant form of Bappuva and his 'aṅkakāra' might have suffered defeat at the hands of Arikēsari II.¹¹⁵ Except this incident of the defeat of 'aṅkakāra', no other details of the campaign are known.

Bijja or Vijayāditya seems to have spent the rest of his life in the service of Arikēsari II. Arikēsari II made him a subordinate ruler over a small province in Pōdanāṇḍu, which was part of his empire. Baddega, the son of Mudigoṇḍa Chālukya Vijayāditya figures as a subordinate of Arikēsari; and this is known from his inscription from Chennūr dated in A.D. 941.¹¹⁶ Thus Arikēsari II, the 'Śaraṇāgatavajraprākāra' offered not only protection but also kingdoms to his refugees. No doubt Arikēsari II won the esteem of his contemporaries, in political as well as in cultural spheres.

His other contributions like his patronage of literature and art will be discussed elsewhere.

LATER RULERS OF THE FAMILY

As stated already, Arikēsari II married two Rāshtrakūṭa princesses Rēvakanirmadī and Lōkāmbikā, and from them begot two sons Vāgarāja and Bhadradeva. N. Venkataramanayya thought¹



that Vāgarāja succeeded Arikēsari II and the same suggestion was accepted by A.S. Altekar.¹¹⁸ D.L. Narasimhachari opined¹¹⁹ that Vāgarāja migrated to the Gaṅga country in Kārṇāṭaka. But the respective dates mentioned in the sources lead us to conclude that the kingdom of Vēmūlavāḍa was divided after the death of Arikēsari II, between his sons Vāgarāja and Bhadradeva. Because both these Princes were related to the Rāshtrakūṭas on the maternal side, and because their relations with Rāshtrakūṭa power were very close, it is not improbable that the partition was made with the involvement of the Rāshtrakūṭa power. The Chālukya kingdom of Vēmūlavāḍa might have been divided in A.D. 941, i.e. after the death of Arikēsari II. Vāgarāja, his elder son, left the parental throne of Vēmūlavāḍa to his brother Bhadradeva, and made Gaṅgādhara which is also in the same kingdom, his capital. Sōmadēvasūri, who was under his patronage, in his Yaśastilaka mentions¹²⁰ him as the elder son of Arikēsari II, and as ruler in Gaṅgādhara and as a subordinate of Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III. The author states that Vāgarāja accompanied Kṛishṇa III during his military camp at Mēlpāḍi in the Chittoor district of Andhra Pradesh in A.D. 959. And he referred to his ruler in his work as the subordinate (Pādapadmōpajīvi) of Kṛishṇa III. From this it is evident that Vāgarāja ruled from A.D. 941 to A.D. 959 from Gaṅgādhara,



owing allegiance to the Rāshtrakūṭas.

Bhadrādēva, the second son of Arikēsari II, succeeded to the ancestral throne of Vēmūlavāḍa in A.D. 941. Inscriptions call him as Baddega and Baddega-nārasīṅga.¹²¹ N. Venkataramanayya surmised¹²² that he predeceased his father without coming to the throne. But this surmise is open to doubt. It is more probable that he succeeded Arikēsari II in A.D. 941 and ruled till A.D. 946, the earliest date of his son Arikēsari III, for he is described in his undated Karimnagar record as 'Chālukya Kula Bhāskara'.¹²³ In the present state of our knowledge, we are unable to trace how he managed to occupy the throne of Vēmūlavāḍa by sending away his elder brother Vāgarāja to the region of Gaṅgādhara. The Rāshtrakūṭas who were the emperors and relatives of these brothers might have helped them to reach an agreement in sharing their kingdom. Sōmadēvasūri might have also played an important role in manoeuvring this agreement without any conflict between these brothers for he was respected in the courts of both these princes. He was kept in charge of Śubhadhāmajinālaya constructed by Bhadrādēva at Vēmūlavāḍa. That Baddega erected Śubhadhāmajinālaya at Vēmūlavāḍa is evident also from the Parabhaṇi plates¹²⁴ of his son Arikēsari III. Thus after the death of Arikēsari II, his sons divided the kingdom and ruled with separate



headquarters at Vēmūlavāḍa and Gaṅgādhara. But from thence forward the interference of the Rāshtrakūṭas into their affairs seemed to have increased resulting in the loss of their previous stature.

No details of the successors of Vāgarāja are known. The later records of this family do not mention¹²⁵ even Vāgarāja. So in the absence of evidence it can be presumed that Vāgarāja died without issue. Bhadrādēva was succeeded by his son Arikēsari III in A.D. 946.

Arikēsari III issued two inscriptions Parabhaṇi plates¹²⁶ and Karimnagar inscription.¹²⁷ Previously, there was little evidence of the subordination of the later chiefs of Vēmūlavāḍa to the Rāshtrakūṭa monarchs. Except the reference to this subordination made in Yaśastilaka nowhere else was the suzerainty of Mālkhēḍ acknowledged. But Arikēsari III, in his Parabhaṇi plates states¹²⁸ that he was the worshipper of the feet of Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III (Pādapaḍmōpajīvi). This statement of Arikēsari III may be taken as the positive admission of the downfall of the political status of the family. Though his inscriptions attribute¹²⁹ him with a number of titles like Pāmbārāmkuśa, Ammanagandhavāraṇa, Gandhēbhavidyādhara, Ārūḍhasarvajñam, Udāttanārāyaṇam, Pratyakshavādvali, Vikremārjuna, Guṇārnava



and Sāmanta Chūdamani, all these honorofics seem to have been inherited by him from his grand father Arikēsari II. They do not signify any successful career. Because none of his military exploits qualifying him for those titles, is referred to in his records. Politically, he seems to have represented a dim and dull phase in the history of the Chālukya chiefs of Vemulavada. Probably it is this want of spirit in his political career that has led him to his own downfall. ★

From the Parabhani plates¹³⁰ it can be said that he ruled until A.D. 966. From that date onwards none of his records are available. But he was mentioned lastly in an inscription from Rēpaka¹³¹ dated A.D. 968. Because it is a damaged inscription, it cannot be definitely stated whether he was alive by that time. But there was no doubt that his authority was practically weak in Tēlaṅgāna by the end of A.D. 966; for, the Chālukya kings of Kalyāṇa made inroads into the tracts of Mahaboobnagar and Nalgonda from that time onwards. Gradually, the entire Tēlaṅgāna passed into the hands of Taila II. Mērutuṅga, the renounced Jaina author, states in his Prabandha Chintāmaṇi that Chālukya Taila II, who restored from the Rāshtrakūṭas the lost fortunes of his family by dint of his valour in A.D. 973,



was the master of Telāṅgāṇa. The authenticity of this statement is beyond doubt. His earliest record¹³² in Koraprōlu in the Medak district of Telāṅgāṇa datable to 10th April, 973 A.D. makes epigraphic corroboration. The records of the succeeding period found in this area show the authority of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa and of their subordinates in these areas.

Thus ended the rule of the Chālukyas of Vēmūlavāḍa in the last quarter of the tenth century A.D., after a rule of three centuries. Their rule started during the zenith of the Early Chālukyas of Bādāmi and ended with the rise of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa, and in between they played an important role during the Rāshtrakūṭa rule, though owing nominal allegiance to them.



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3. Ibid., p.12.
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5. Kannada Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, No.29.
6. Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Karimnagar District, No.2.
7. The Chālukvas of L(V)ēmūlavāda, p.6.
8. Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Karimnagar District, No.1.
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16. History of the Eastern Chalukvas of Vengi, p.153.
17. Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, p.381; (Cited in J.A.H.R.S., Vol. VI, pp.169-192).
18. J.A.H.R.S., Vol. VI, pp.169-192.
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26. The Chālukyas of L(V)ēmūlavāda, p.92.
27. Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Karimnagar District, No.4.
28. Kannada Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, No.29.
29. Bhāratī, August, 1930, pp.297-318.
30. "Bhīmam bhīma parākramam aika nilayam tam hēlaya ir āgrahīt ugram grāham iv āntar ambu samarē dor Vvikramād Baddigah".
(Vikramāriunaviṣayam and Parabhani Plates)
31. Fleet suggested long ago (Dyasties of Kanarese Districts, p.381) that this Bhīma might be the Eastern Chālukya Bhīma, who according to his chronology ruled from A.D. 888 to 918. Though the system of chronology formulated by Fleet is some what antiquated, scholars like Venkataramanayya accepted the identification proposed by him as of well worth consideration. (Proceedings of Indian History Congress, 10th Session, 1947, pp.214-218).
32. A.R.E. Cp. No.26 of 1937-38.
33. A number of Vēngī Chālukya records referred to Baddega as he was offered protection after defeat by Guṇaga Vijayāditya. The Government Epigraphist identified him with Baddega of the Vēmūlavāda family. (A.R.E. 1918, II, p.132). This suggestion is no doubt correct, but his statement mentioning the relation of these princes needs modification. He states that Narasīmha II, the grand son of Baddega, as the elder brother of Arikēsari. But Arikēsari was the son of his predecessor Narasīmha II.
34. I.H.C., 10th Session (1947), pp.214-218.
35. "Nindrēndrana tōle totṭa lagire baiedam", Vicramāriunaviṣayam, Chapter I, verse 44, cited in Pallavulu-Chālukyulu, p.142.
36. "mindra nōlār dhāsana meri dolpu harigangakkum peran gakkumē", verse from Vikramāriunaviṣayam, cited in Pallavulu-Chālukyulu, p.143.



37. Pallavulu-Chālukyulu, p.198.
38. Ibid.
39. E.I., Vol. VII, No.6.
40. The Chālukyas of L(V)ēmūlavāda, p.25.
41. Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Karimnagar District, No.2.
42. "Baddega devange sakala sāmrajya manō rantu maḍi nirisi dari kēsari yatōlvalamunam". Vikramāriṇaviṇayam, Chapter 9, verse 52-53, cited in Pallavulu-Chālukyulu, p.132.
43. A.R.E., No.1 of 1959-60.
44. Yasastilaka and Indian Culture, p.2.
45. Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Karimnagar District, No.4.
46. The Chālukyas of L(V)ēmūlavāda, p.92.
47. Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Karimnagar District, No.1.
48. Ibid., No.5.
49. The Chālukyas of L(V)ēmūlavāda, p.12.
50. A.R.E., No.1 of 1959-60.
51. Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Karimnagar District, No.1.
52. Yasastilaka and Indian Culture, p.2.
53. J.A.H.R.S., Vol. VII, pp.159-164.
54. Bhārati, August, 1930, pp.297-318.
55. Ibid.
56. Yasastilaka and Indian Culture, p.511.
57. Panditārādhya-charitra. Parvataprakaraṇa, p.415.



58. Dr. Kunhanraia presentation volume, 1946), pp.113-115; cited in the Journal of Oriental Research, Vol. XVIII, p.39.
59. Journal of the Madras University, Vol. XV, No.2, p.101; cited in the Journal of Oriental Research, Vol. XVIII, p.39.
60. Dr. Kunhanraia presentation volume, (1946), pp.113-115; cited in the Journal of Oriental Research, Vol. XVIII, p.39.
61. The Chālukyas of L(V)emulavāda, p.50.
62. Kannada Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, No.12.
63. The Journal of Oriental Research, Vol. XVIII, pp.39-42.
64. Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan, Vol. II, p.34, cited in the Journal of Oriental Research, Vol. XVIII, pp.39-42.
65. Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Karimnagar District, No.5.
66. Ibid., Warangal District, p.145.
67. The Chālukyas of L(V)emulavāda, p.18.
68. Kannada Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, No.54.
69. E.I., Vol. VI, pp.202-212.
70. Nirupamadēvana rājyado
la Kēsari Vēṅṅi Vishayamam Trikaṅgam
berasottī Koṇḍu garvade
bere yisidam pesara nakhīla digbhittigalōl.
- Vikramāriṇavaliyam, cited in
Pallavulu-Chālukyulu, p.129.
71. The Chālukyas of L(V)emulavāda, p.19.
72. This Rahappa took over the title 'Rājādhirājaparamēśvara' and the banner 'Pālidhrajā' from the Rāshtrakūṭas. Because both these were originally belonged to the Chālukyas before the advent of the Rāshtrakūṭas into the Deccan, it is suggested that Rāhappa might be a Chālukya king who restored his authority in his turn against the Rāshtrakūṭas. (Pallavulu-Chālukyulu, p.163). But his identification is not known.



73. Kannada Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, No.29.
74. History of the Eastern Chalukyas of Venqi, p.152.
75. A.S. Altekar noticed (Rāshtrakūtas and their times, p.51) that it would appear that this Chālukya feudatory had joined the party of Gōvinda against Dhruva. This is not unlikely.
76. E.I., Vol. XXII, No.17, pp.98-109.
77. Ibid., Vol. VI, p.200.
78. In protection of their mutual interests they maintained friendly relations atleast for a short period. Altekar supports R.C. Majumdar when he pointed out that these two groups formed into an alliance in some important wars. (Rāshtrakūtas and their Times, p.65).
79. I.H.C., 2nd Session (1938), p.247.
80. The Eastern Chālukyas of Venqi, p.129.
81. A.R.E. Cp. No.13 of 1917-18;
J.A.H.R.S., Vol. XI, p.85, etc.
82. A.R.E., 1918, Part II, p.132.
83. Bhāratī, June, 1980, p.15.
84. It is reasonable to suppose that the victories over Krishna II and Baddega must be assigned to the period between A.D. 880 and 892. (Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 10th Session (1947), p.214).
85. The Bēgumra plates of Indra III (E.I. Vol. IX, p.24) states that the entire glory of the Rāshtrakūta kingdom had been sunken deep in the great Chālukya Ocean.
86. i) E.I. Vol. V, p.127.
ii) A.R.E. Cp. No.14 of 1908-09.
iii) A.S.P.P. Vol. II, pp.256-57, etc.
87. Epi. Andhrīca, Vol. I, pp.142-145.
88. I.H.C., 10th Session (1947), pp.214-218.



89. A.R.E., 1914, Part II, para. 6.
90. The Chālukyas of L(V)ēmūlavāda, p.92.
91. The Eastern Chālukyas of Vēngī, p.126.
92. Vikramārjunaviṣayam, Chapter 23, verses 33-38, cited in Pallavulu-Chālukyulu, p.130.
93. Inscription of Andhra Pradesh, Karimnagar District, No.2.
94. The Chālukyas of L(V)ēmūlavāda, p.25.
95. E.I., Vol. VII, No.6.
96. The Chālukyas of L(V)ēmūlavāda, p.25.
97. Ibid., p.28, Footnotes, No.50.
98. Rāshtrakūtas and Their Times, p.107.
99. E.I., Vol. VII, No.6.
100. Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Karimnagar District, No.2.
101. Pallavulu-Chālukyulu, p.214.
102. Vikramārjunaviṣayam, Chapter 1, verse 44; cited in Pallavulu-Chālukyulu, p.142.
103. The reign of Gōvinda IV was one of the least glorious ones. It has been said that most of his time was spent in the pursuits of pleasures and with dancers (E.I. Vol. III, p.298). He took to evil ways which led to the disaffection of ministers and subordinates. Altekar estimates Gōvinda as he had neither the ability nor the inclination try to hold the provinces conquered by his father (Rāshtrakūtas and their Times, p.107). Thus we can know the vicious life and lascivious ways of Gōvinda IV ruined his constitution, lost the sympathies of his subjects and feudatories and finally led to his destruction.
104. Previously when the details of these Andigonda Chālukyas are not come into light, it has been thought that this Bijja or Vijayita is either Vijayāditya IV or Bātaviṣayāditya of the Vēngī Chālukya family. But the recently available sources does not offer scope to allow such a suggestions.



105. i) Vikramādiṇavaliyam, Chapter 9, verse 52-53, cited in Pallavulu-Chālukyulu, p.132.
ii) Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Karimnagar District, No.2.
106. A.S. Altekar quotes that the Rāshtrakūṭa records also confirm the version of Pampa (Rāshtrakūṭas and their times, p.107).
107. J.A.H.R.S., Vol. VI, p.184.
108. The Chālukyas of L(V)emulavāda, p.38. Footnotes, 57.
109. E.I. Vol. XIII, p.329.
110. J.A.H.R.S., Vol. VI, p.184.
111. Rāshtrakūṭas and Their Times, p.130.
112. Journal of Madras University, Vol. XV, 2, p.124.
113. The Chālukyas of L(V)emulavāda, p.39.
114. J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol. XVIII, p.247.
115. The Chālukyas of L(V)emulavāda, p.39.
116. A.P.A.R.E. (1967), No.1.
117. The Chālukyas of L(V)emulavāda, p.41.
118. Rāshtrakūṭas and Their Times, p.130.
119. J.A.H.R.S. Vol. VII, pp.159-164.
120. Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture, p.2.
121. Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Karimnagar District, Nos. 1 and 2.
122. The Chālukyas of L(V)emulavāda, p.42.
123. Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Karimnagar District, No.4.
124. The Chālukyas of L(V)emulavāda, p.92.
125. Ibid.
126. Ibid.



127. Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh. Karimnagar District. No.1.
128. The Chālukyas of L(V)ēmūlavāda, p.92.
129. Ibid.
130. Ibid.
131. Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh. Karimnagar District. No.5.
132. Epi. Andhrīca, Vol. IV, p.143.



CHAPTER - II

THE CHĀLUKYAS OF MUDIGONDA

Another important line of rulers, that claimed their descent from the Chālukyas in the dominion of Telangāṇa, is the Mudigonda branch. This family ruled the areas round Mudigonda and Koravi, corresponding to the present parts of Khammam and Warangal districts of Andhra Pradesh, for more than three centuries beginning with the last quarter of the ninth century. As in the case of the Chālukya kingdom of Vemulavāḍa, this kingdom of Mudigonda bordered on the mighty empires of Vēṅgī and Malkhed; and this naturally forced its rulers to intervene in the struggles and internecine wars, which took place between those big powers. It is not uncommon for minor subordinate families, whose kingdoms lay between such mighty powers, to sacrifice their own individual interests and desires for the sake of the emperors to whom they owed allegiance as is evidenced in the rule of the Chālukya Chiefs of Mudigonda. Being faithful subordinates, they held the responsibility of protecting the north-west borders of the Chālukya empire of Vēṅgī. They strove hard to keep up their authority from the beginning and fought with the Rāshtrakūṭas, with the Chālukyas of Vemulavāḍa, and with



the Kākatīyas. They emerged on the political scene during the period of Chāḷukya Bhīma I of the Chāḷukyas of Vēṅgī. There are more than eleven generations in this family. As masters of a borderland between the Eastern Chāḷukyas and Rāshtrakūṭas the Chāḷukyas of Mudigonda must have enjoyed a semi-independent rule within their territory. The fact that their neighbours, the Chāḷukyas of Vēmulaṅga, were relatives and loyal vassals of the Rāshtrakūṭas, compelled the Chāḷukyas of Mudigonda to become allied to the Vēṅgī power, in order to maintain political equilibrium in the eastern Telāṅgaṇa.

Genealogy and Chronology:

The reconstruction of the genealogy and chronology of the Chāḷukyas of Mudigonda is a difficult task, as this family yields a comparatively less number of records. Even in the available inscriptions also, except in the copper-plates of Mogalacheruvula grant¹ and Krivvaka grant,² the information recorded is not so helpful as to know the details of the succession of rulers. Though the copper-plate grants give succession lists of more than half a dozen generations, they are not dated ones and offer less scope for this reconstruction. They stand before us more as a set of puzzles than historical evidences and the facts



recorded therein show some political vacuum which leads to confusion. The genealogy and chronology of these kings and their achievements remain controversial. But some of the inscriptions are highly useful in knowing the methods of taxation and to some extent of the village administration of the period. The Koravi record³ mentions a number of taxes and imposition of various punishments for various crimes. The Mogalucheruvula and Krivvaka grants put together give collectively a list of 14 generations of rulers. The Nārāyanagiri,⁴ Chennur⁵ and Nattarāmēśvaram⁶ inscriptions are helpful in knowing the area of rule and the subordinate status of some of the rulers of the family. Besides these, a few contemporary records like the Bezawada plates of Chālukya Bhīma I,⁷ Vemulavāda record of Arikēsari II,⁸ Gudur inscription of Viriyāla Malla⁹ and the Palampet inscription of Rēcherla Rudra¹⁰ state the relations of those families with the Chālukya rulers of Mudigonda and hence are useful for our purpose.

Let us first briefly study the genealogical and chronological details as stated in the various records of this family:

Firstly, the Koravi inscription speaks¹¹ of Kusumāyudha's successful exploits and about his two sons and successors

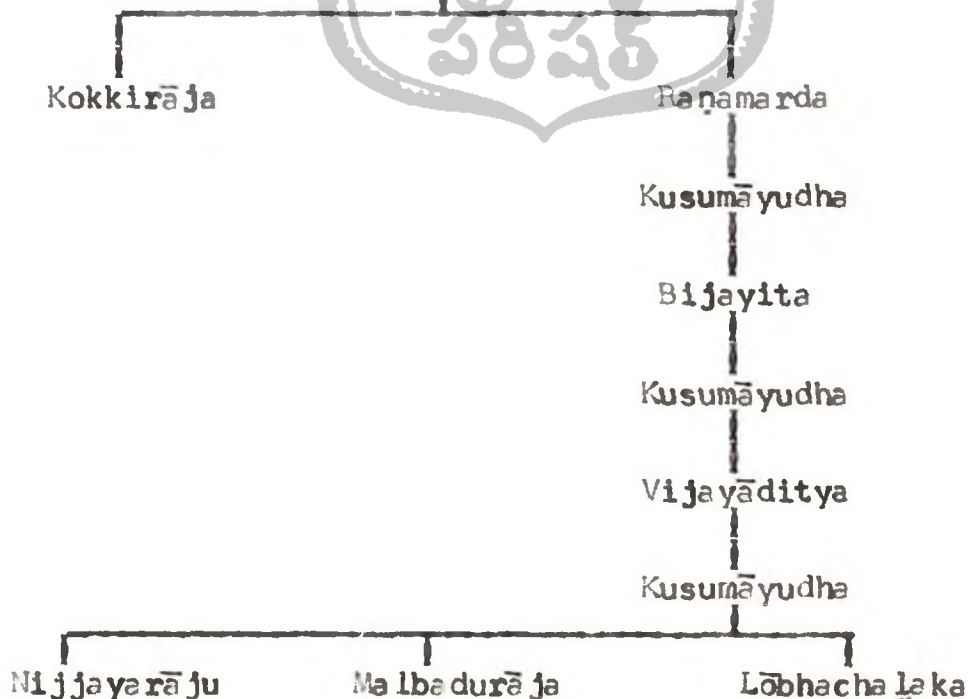


Gonaga and Niravadya. Two generations of rulers of this family are known from this record.



Though this record is not dated, it is said that these kings were contemporaneous to one Chālukya Bhīma of Vēṅgī.

Next in the Mogalucheruvula grant¹² the pedigree of the early rulers of this family was given thus:



This record is also undated; and Prof. C. Bendall who edited this grant assigned this to the eleventh century on the basis of palaeographical features.

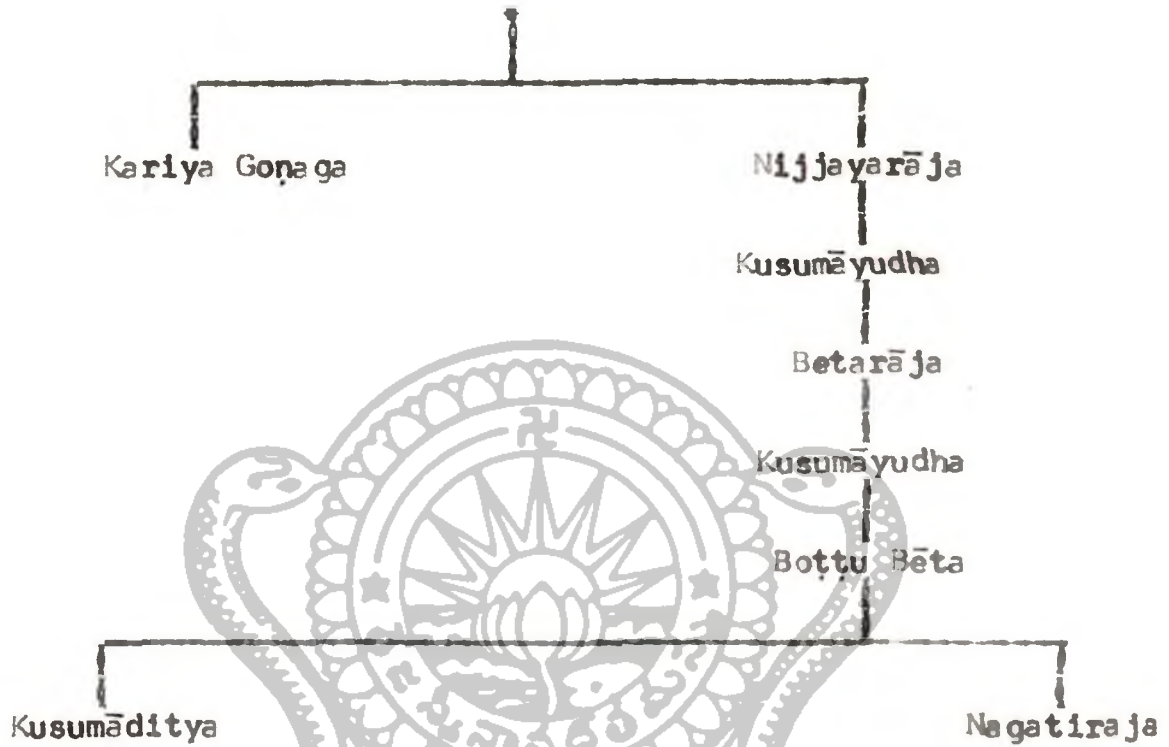
The Chennur epigraph¹³ which is dated A.D. 941 refers to the rule of Baddega, son of Chālukya Goṇagarasa, in the areas of Pōḍanādu under the subordination of the Chālukyas of Vemulavāḍa. Two generations of rulers Goṇaga and Baddega as contemporaries of Arikēsari (II), are known from this record.

Goṇaga
|
Baddega

The Nārāyaṇagiri inscription¹⁴ dated A.D. 1004 mentions one Chālukya Goṇagarasa as a ruler of some parts in the Warangal district. The area under rule and the date of the record lead to identify him as the ruler of this family.

Next, the Kṛivvaka grant,¹⁵ which is undated and assigned by P.V. Parabrahmma Sastry to the 12th Century, is highly helpful in knowing the list of the later generations of this family. It gives the names of eight rulers in six generations in the following manner:





The achievements of Indaparāju and Rēmarāju, the ministers of the last rulers Kusumāditya and Nāgatirāja, and the exploits of Nāgatirāja which have some historical significance are known from this record.

The Nattarāmēśvaram inscription¹⁶ dated A.D. 1218 registers the gift by Boṭṭu Nāgatirāja, the last ruler stated in the above Kṛivvaka grant, to the temple of Śrī Rāmēśvara of Juttiga in the West Godavari District, By this time it is evident that Nāgatirāja lost his kingdom in the areas of Tellaṅgaṇa, migrated to the coastal areas and spent the rest of his life in the service of the Kolanu chiefs



This Boṭṭu Nāgati appears to be the last ruler of this family. One Boṭṭu Śrīrāmabhadrarāja figures in one Śrīkākuḷam inscription¹⁷ and claims his descent from this family. However, his connections with the early rulers are not known and hence not useful for our present purpose.

In addition to this information found in the records of this family, various synchronisms noticed in the other records of the contemporary period and in literature help us to corroborate these evidences.

Firstly, Chālukya Bhīma I of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty, in his Bezawada copper-plate grant dated A.D. 892,¹⁸ states that he granted a village Kūkoarru to a Brāhmaṇa Pōtamayya at the request of one Kusumāyudha. The services rendered by Kusumāyudha to Chālukya Bhīma, as revealed in the Koravi epigraph, are to be noted in this context. The Kusumāyudha mentioned in the Koravi inscription and in the Bezawada copper-plate grant of Chālukya Bhīma appears to be one and the same; and hence he must be a contemporary of Chālukya Bhīma I who ruled during A.D. 892-922.

Secondly, the Vēmulaṇḍa pillar inscription of Arikēsari II¹ and Pampa's Vikramārjunaviṇayam, refer to one Bijja or Vijayāditya of the Chālukya family, who was protected by Arikēsari II from the wrath of Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvinda.²⁰



As the inimical relations between the Mudigonda chiefs and the Rāshtrakūṭas are known from the Koravi epigraph, it is not at all improbable that Bijja (a variant form of Vijayāditya) could be Vijayita of the Mudigonda line. If so, he must have lived at about 935. In various places this Vijayāditya is stated as Goṇagayya,²¹ Anuṅgu Goṇaga,²² Bijayita and Bijja.²³ On the basis of genealogy and other details, all these names could be identified as the variant forms of Vijayita.

Thirdly, the Gudur inscription of Viriyāla Malla,²⁴ dated A.D. 1124, describes the exploits of Viriyāla Erra and his wife Kāmasānī, the ancestors of Viriyāla Malla, in which context one Boṭṭu Bēta is mentioned as the ruler of Koravi. The names 'Bēta' and 'Boṭṭu Bēta' are not uncommon among the Chālukyas of Mudigonda. The Gudur inscription states that Viriyāla Erra fought on the side of Boṭṭu Bēta, whereas his wife Kāmasānī championed the cause of Kākati Bēta for authority over Koravi. From this it could be inferred that Boṭṭu Bēta of Koravi, Viriyāla Erra and Kāmasānī, and Kākati Bēta were contemporaries. This contemporaneity is highly useful in fixing the date of one (Boṭṭu) Bēta of the Chālukyas of Mudigonda. Though the time when Viriyāla Erra and Kāmasānī lived is not known,



they lived five generations earlier than Maillamāmbā and Malyāla Chaunḍa whose date is known from the Kaṭukūru²⁵ and Koṇḍiparti²⁶ records as A.D. 1200. From this Viriyāla Erra and Kāmasāni can be dated roughly to A.D. 1050-1075. So it is reasonable to fix²⁷ the period of (Boṭṭu) Bēta around A.D. 1075; and this date falls nearer to that of Kākati Bēta II.

Lastly, Nēcherla Rudra in his Palampet pillar inscription²⁸ dated A.D. 1213 states that he overcame Nāgatirāja, who rose against the power of the Kākatiyas. Because the Kṛivvaka grant which is assigned to the 12th Century, and the Nattarāmēśvaram inscription dated A.D. 1218, state the details of Nāgatirāja, it can be positively said that the Nāgati of the Palampet record is no other than the last known ruler in the Chālukya family of Mudigonda.

The genealogical and chronological table of this family has to be reconstructed with the help of the details known from the records of this family and of contemporary records. Previously scholars like N. Venkataramanayya²⁹ and Bh. Lakshminarayana³⁰ tried to fix the chronology of this family; but there is no reference in their lists to the reigns of Nijjayarāja, Kariya Goṇaga and Kusumāyudha VI. Moreover, with the re-editing of the Kṛivvaka grant by Parabrahmma Sastry,³¹ it became essential to study once again the



genealogy and chronology of this family. Though Parabrahmma Sastry tried to give a complete picture of the genealogy of this family, he has not dealt with the chronology in detail; and it looks that he has arbitrarily identified the kings mentioned in different inscriptions with the kings known from the Mogalacheruvula and the Kṛivvaka grants.

Before discussing the details of the genealogy and chronology, one word is to be said about the Koravi enigraph.³² As the record is incomplete, there is much difficulty in fixing the periods of the early rulers of this family. The reconstruction of their genealogy suffers from uncertainty unless the position of this group of three kings, Kusumāyudha, Goṇaga and Niravadya is located in the total genealogy. Who could be the Chāḷukya Bhīma mentioned in the record? This needs some clarification. He must be the Eastern Chāḷukya ruler, Bhīma I, who succeeded Goṇaga Vijayāditya and ruled in between A.D. 892-922. Vijayita Goṇaga, the elder son of Kusumāyudha, succeeded the latter. Shortly afterwards, Goṇaga is stated to have been dethroned by Niravadya, his heroic younger brother, who also possessed the goodwill of one Chāḷukya Bhīma of Vēṅgī. Whether this Chāḷukya Bhīma, the contemporary of Niravadya, was the same as Chāḷukya Bhīma I or whether he could be Chāḷukya Bhīma II, is a matter of controversy. P.V. Parabrahmma Sastry³³



postulated two kings named Chālukya Bhīma and identified them with Chālukya Bhīma I and Chālukya Bhīma II of Vēṅgī. He opined that Kusumāyudha and Vijayita Goṇaga belonged to the period of Chālukya Bhīma I, and that Niravadya was a contemporary of Chālukya Bhīma II. He did not give reasons which formed the basis for this conclusion. It could be safely urged that the name Chālukya Bhīma used in that record, specifically referred to Chālukya Bhīma I. The main grounds in support of this view³⁴ are presented below:

i) The Chālukya Bhīma mentioned at the beginning in the Koravi record is stated³⁵ to have been the elder son of Vikramāditya and hence identifiable only with Chālukya Bhīma I. The Chālukya Bhīma, mentioned in the latter part of the record, was introduced without his father's name being mentioned, even because he was probably the same as the one mentioned in the earlier part of the inscription. Had he been different, his father's name would have been specifically mentioned, to distinguish him from his namesake.

ii) In his early struggles, Chālukya Bhīma I secured the full support and cooperation of Kusumāyudha. The Koravi record³⁶ and the Bezawada plates³⁷ describe the role played by Kusumāyudha in placing Chālukya Bhīma I on the throne of Vēṅgī. It is said that Kusumāyudha ruled the country



along with his emperor Chālukya Bhīma I. From this, it is evident that Kusumāyudha achieved such stature and strength as to resist the aggressive Rāshtrakūṭas and prevent them from entering Vēṅgī and to advance the cause of Chālukya Bhīma I and help him to the throne. Hence it is not unreasonable to conclude that Kusumāyudha was an elder contemporary of Chālukya Bhīma I, and that his wish carried weight with Bhīma around A.D. 892, the time of the Bezawada plates where he figures chiefly.

The three rulers mentioned in the Koravi record i.e., Kusumāyudha, Goṇaga and Niravadya, are to be regarded as the contemporaries of Chālukya Bhīma I at different stages of his rule. Basing on their contemporaneity with Chālukya Bhīma I, for which there is concrete epigraphical evidence, the periods of the early rulers are to be fixed and the genealogy and chronology reconstructed on the definitely known dates of the later rulers of the same family.

From the evidence of paleography, the Kṛivvaka grant³⁸ of Chālukya Kusumāditya could be regarded as belonging to the 12th Century. In that inscription the last stated rulers were two brothers, named Kusumāditya and Nāgatirāja. The same Nāgatirāja was again referred to in the Palampet inscription³⁹ of Rēcherla Rudra dated A.D. 1213, and in the



Nattarāmēśvaram inscription⁴⁰ of the period of Kolanu Chiefs dated A.D. 1218. With the help of these two inscriptions it is possible to fix the date of Nāgatirāja, the last ruler mentioned in the Kṛivvaka grant, as A.D. 1200. Taking this year as the basis and allowing 25 years of rule to each generation, the eight rulers referred to in the Kṛivvaka grant could be dated to A.D. 1000-1200 in the following manner:

	A.D.
Kariya Goṇaga	: 1000-1025
Nijjayarāja	: 1025-1050
Kusumāyudha	: 1050-1075
Bētarāja	: 1075-1100
Kusumāyudha	: 1100-1125
Boṭṭu Bētarāja	: 1125-1150
Kusumāyudha (or Kusumāditya)	: 1150-1175
Nāgatirāja	: 1175-1200 (or upto 1218)

By this method of allotment Nāgatirāja would be ruling in A.D. 1200, Goṇaga or Kariya Goṇaga in between A.D. 1000-1025 (supported by Nārāyaṇagiri inscription dated A.D. 1004⁴¹) and one Kusumāyudha would be a ruler in between A.D. 1050-1075 (supported by the date assigned to the Mogalucheruvula grant⁴² by Prof. Bendall on



palaeographical basis). Thus the periods allotted to the rulers in the Kṛivvaka grant⁴³ are in consonance with the dates of rulers noted in other inscriptions.

The above chronological scheme allows us to identify Kariya Goṇaga, the earliest ruler stated in the Kṛivvaka grant with the Goṇaga of the Nārāyaṇagiri inscription. But Parabrahmma Sastry opines⁴⁴ that Kariya Goṇaga mentioned in the Kṛivvaka grant should be identified with the Goṇaga of the Koravi inscription only. Parabrahmma Sastry considered Goṇaga of the Nārāyaṇagiri record as a separate ruler, who had no connections with the Mudigonda family. It is true that the epithet 'Koravipuravallabha' used for Kariya Goṇaga in the Kṛivvaka grant, is not found in the Nārāyaṇagiri record. But Kariya Goṇaga of the Kṛivvaka grant cannot be identified with the Goṇaga of the Koravi epigraph for various reasons. Being the contemporary of Chāḷukya Bhīma I, Kusumāyudha must be placed in and around A.D. 892. N Venkataramanayya,⁴⁵ M.V.N. Aditya Sarma,⁴⁶ S. Dasarathi⁴⁷ and N. Mukundarao⁴⁸ agree in identifying this Kusumāyudha with Kusumāyudha I. But Parabrahmma Sastry⁴⁹ takes a different view and identifies him with Kusumāyudha III. But it is more convincing to regard him as the same as Kusumāyudha I. Kusumāyudha was very old at the time of the coronation of Chāḷukya Bhīma and



it is likely that he died in A.D. 895. After him Goṇaga succeeded to the throne. The reasonableness of taking Goṇaga and Niravadya as contemporaries of Chālukya Bhīma I is shown by the Koravi record. The rule of or at least part of the rule of Niravadya must be contemporaneous with that of Chālukya Bhīma I. If Goṇaga of the Koravi inscription was Kariya Goṇaga of the Kṛivvaka grant, there would be a gap of eight kings between Goṇaga and Nāgatirāja. The latter's date is already fixed with a good deal of probability as Circa A.D. 1200. The difference in the time scale between them is (A.D. 1200-895): 305 years. These two kings figure in the Kṛivvaka grant as the earliest and the last rulers of the Mudigonda line. We will be forced to allot about 38 years each on an average to the eight kings of the Kṛivvaka grant. And such an allotment appears unusual. The view of Parabrahma Sastry identifying Goṇaga of the Koravi record with Kariya Goṇaga of the Kṛivvaka grant bristles with difficulties; but these are eliminated if Kariya Goṇaga of Kṛivvaka grant is identified with Goṇaga of the Nārāyaṇagiri Inscription. Thus, fixing of the eight rulers mentioned in the Kṛivvaka grant in between A.D. 1000 and A.D. 1200 becomes justified.⁵⁰

Next to the fixation of the periods of the early rulers of this family. Kusumāyudha, Vijayita Goṇga, and Niravadya



are the three rulers mentioned in the Koravi inscription. As stated already, these three were the contemporaries of Chālukya Bhīma I (A.D. 892-922), at least for a short period. After the usurpation of Niravadya, Goṇaga did not die as some scholars observed. He was trying all the time to regain his lost position; but he could not challenge his brother Niravadya as the latter's relations with the Vēṅgī power were cordial. In such circumstances, Goṇaga could have gained the support of the Rāshtrakūṭas, the hereditary rivals of the Chālukyas of Vēṅgī. But this too did not happen. Goṇaga, for some unknown reasons, incurred the displeasure of the Rāshtrakūṭa Govinda IV; and it was Arikēsari II of Vemulavāda, who protected him from the wrath of Govinda IV. This fact is mentioned in the Vikramādiunaviṭṭam⁵¹ and in the Vemulavāda inscription.⁵² Later, this Vijayita Goṇaga's son Baddega served Arikēsari II as a subordinate, as known from Chennur epigraph⁵³ dated A.D. 941. Thus basing on the contemporary political scene and on the inscriptions at Koravi and Chennur, the rule of those three rulers of the Koravi record might be fixed as under:

Kusumāyudha	:	A.D. 870-895
Vijayita Goṇaga	:	A.D. 895-910
Niravadya	:	A.D. 910-935



In this scheme, only Kusumāyudha and Niravadya were allotted 25 years rule. Vijayita Goṇaga is allotted only a period of 15 year rule because of the abrupt end of his rule in Koravi even though he lived for 20 years more, i.e. upto A.D. 935 in the court of Arikēsari II. Baddega, his son, is not included in this list, as he left the main line.

Thus the first set of three rulers mentioned in the Koravi record⁵⁴ are fixed in between A.D. 870 and A.D. 935; and the last set of eight rulers mentioned in the Kṛivvaka grant⁵⁵ are placed in between A.D. 1000 and A.D. 1200. Between the two sets of rulers, there are three rulers Kusumāyudha, Vijayāditya and another Kusumāyudha. The period of gap in between the above two sets, i.e. between A.D. 935 and A.D. 1000 is 65 years. This period is to be allotted to these three rulers in the following way:

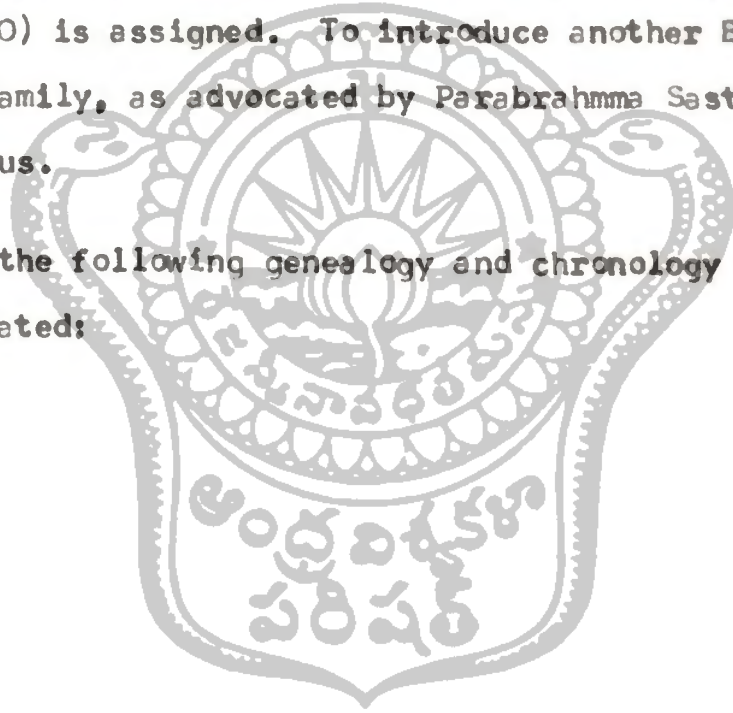
Kusumāyudha	:	A.D. 935-960
Vijayāditya	:	A.D. 960-980
Kusumāyudha	:	A.D. 980-1000

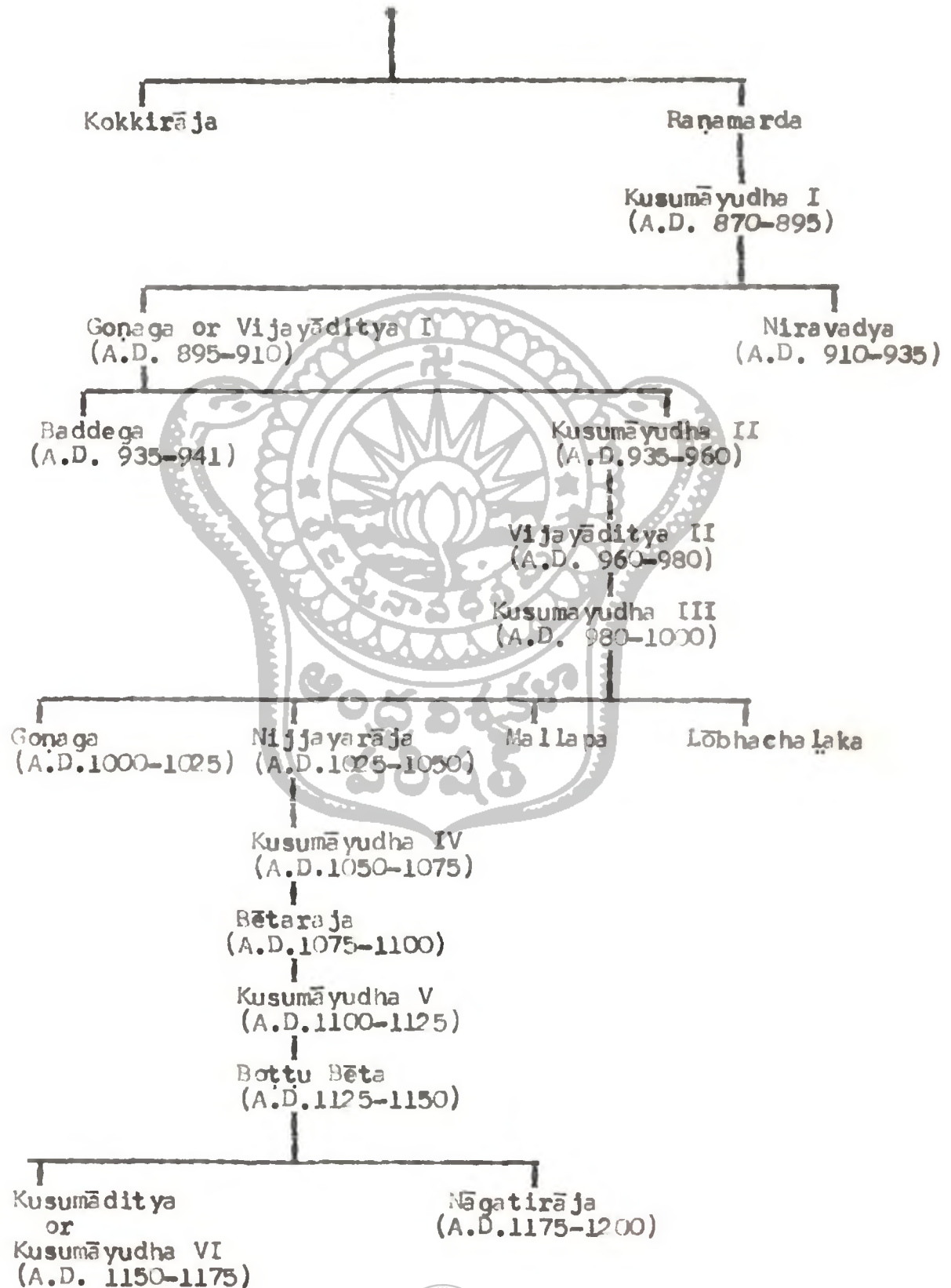
In addition to these three rulers, Parabrahmma Sastry thought⁵⁶ that Boṭṭu Bēta of the Gudur inscription⁵⁷ of Viriyāla Malla must find a place in this period. But in this chronology⁵⁸ Bottu Beta is identified with Bēta of the



Krivvaka grant and has been assigned the period of rule in between A.D. 1075-1100, on the basis of the chronologies of the Viriyāla chiefs and of the Kākatīyas; and other historical events which will be discussed later. There is one Boṭṭu Bēta in the list to whom a rule of 25 years (1125-1150) is assigned. To introduce another Boṭṭu Bēta in this family, as advocated by Parabrahmma Sastry, seems superfluous.

Now the following genealogy and chronology can be formulated:





In this manner is arranged the chronology of these 14 rulers of the Mudigonda Chālukya family (excluding Baddega) in between A.D. 870 and A.D. 1200. Though this scheme is formulated with a thorough background of the dates of the records of this dynasty and synchronisms with other rulers, there are the following limitations in the above arrangement.

- i) Kusumāyudha II is considered to have succeeded his uncle Niravadya inspite of the conflict between his father Gonaga and Niravadya.
- ii) Mallapa and Lobachalaka, the sons of Kusumāyudha III, are not taken as rulers as they are mentioned nowhere as kings.
- iii) Absence of reference to Niravadya and Kariya Gonaga in some inscriptions must have been due to rivalry or family differences or some similar cause.
- iv) Malliya and Gundiya referred to in the Kandiyam Plates⁵⁹ of Dānārṇava of the Chālukyas of Vēṅḡi are not considered as rulers as their migration to Pottāpinādu is evident; and they are not associated with the main family.

KUSUMĀYUDHA I TO KUSUMĀYUDHA II

The early history of the Chālukyas of Mudigonda is not clearly known. The Mogalucheruvula grant⁶⁰ traces the ancestry of these rulers.

Kokkirāja and Raṇamarda were the two brothers who occupied the area pertaining to the present district of



Khammam and established their rule with their capital at Mudugondūru. Kokkirāja is described as a flourishing, prosperous, and victorious ruler, and as one who bore the insignia of royalty of an irresistible throne. He was ruling his kingdom with his brother Raṇamarda assisting him. One Polakēśīrāja, whose connections with these brothers are not known, declared that "in his lineage younger brothers must always serve and protect the elder brothers, who will be on the throne". In view of the context in which it is stated, it can be assumed that Polakēśī might have also belonged to this family. Raṇamarda is known to have been an outstanding warrior and the Mogalucheruvula grant describes him as a veritable Rāma on the field of battle. He vanquished Chiyyarāja, whose identity is not known, and captured Garuḍa and Veṭala banners from him. His valour was solely responsible for the extension of the family's authority over the areas of Mañchikonda Vishaya and Koṇḍapalli. As a royal insignia, he bore a Kaṇṭhika necklace, named 'Raṇamarda Kaṇṭhiya' which was esteemed as Kuladhana a traditional sacred heirloom, and worshipped as a 'Kuladēvata' by the successors of this line. The actual verse in the record is as follows:

"Tatrānvayē bhūpatir āvirāsīd raṇē
 shu Rāmō Raṇamardda nāmā (1)
 Yat Kanyikām Chāru Chalukya Vamsō
 dhattē hṛidi shva Kuladēvatām cha (11)."



Prof. Bendall's reading of the term 'Yat Kanyikā' in the verse appears to be a mistake for 'Yat Kaṇṭhikām'⁶¹ and the correction becomes more meaningful when read with the phrase 'Raṇamarda-Kaṇṭhiya' of the Koravi record.⁶² Otherwise, it is difficult to explain why a daughter of Raṇamarda, who is introduced here, could wear this symbol on the chest. The verse gives the meaning that just like the 'Kuladēvata', this Kaṇṭhiya was worn on the chest by this family. M.V.N. Aditya Sarma⁶³ opined that the Kaṇṭhiya might symbolize sovereignty over the territory of Raṇamarda.

Parabrahmma Sastry tried⁶⁴ to connect the early rulers of this family with the Chālukya line of Bādāmi. He states that the name 'Raṇamarda' sounds like 'Raṇarāga', 'Raṇavikrama' and 'Raṇavikrānta', the epithets used by the early rulers of the Bādāmi Chālukya family. Vikramāditya I of the same family had an epithet Kokkili. The name Kokkili resembles the name Kokkilorāja, the earliest ruler in the Mudigonda family. Moreover the availability of some of the records of Vikramāditya I in the Mahabubnagar district might lead one to identify Kokkilorāja with Vikramāditya I.⁶⁵ But such an identification does not seem tenable for Vikramāditya I (A.D. 655-680) had only three brothers, namely Ādityavarma, Chandrāditya and Jayasīma Varma and none of them bore the



epithet 'Raṇamarda'. In the chronology of these rulers as now presented Kusumāyudha I the son of Raṇamarda, ruled in between A.D. 870 and 895. If we add a tentative period of 50 years as the period of rule of Kokkilirāja and Raṇamarda, A.D. 820 would be the earliest date for Kokkilirāja. But Vikramāditya I of the Bādami Chālukya family, whom Parabrahma Sastry tried to identify with Kokkilirāja, ruled from A.D. 655 which is roughly two centuries earlier. Hence this identification is untenable.

Tekumalla Kameswara Rao⁶⁶ proposed a theory connecting the word 'Raṇamarda' with a title of Paṇḍaranga, the famous commander-in-chief of Guṇaga Vijayāditya of the Eastern Chālukya family. But this would not hold, because Paṇḍaranga ruled the areas of Kandukūr and never established a kingdom of his own in Telangāna. He had no connections with the rulers of Mudigonda.

The above writer has pitched upon a folk song⁶⁷ which mentions the fracture of Kokkili's leg and the treatment for its cure and connected it with Kokkilirāja of Mudigonda family. From this song he thought that Kokkilirāja might have been wounded and might have died in a battle. But it cannot be said with certainty that the folk song referred to the wound and death of the Kokkilirāja of the



Chālukya family at Mudigonda. There is greater probability of the folk-song referring to Kokkili Vikramādityabhaṭṭāraka of the Eastern Chālukya family. That song is still popular among the shepherds in the Elamañchili region, an area to which Kokkili-Vikramāditya retired after his dethronement. Considering the popularity of that song in and about Elamañchili, it is more appropriate to connect it with Kokkili Vikramāditya (who belongs to the first half of the 8th Century), than with Kokkilirāja of Mudigonda family.

Historical information starts from the time of Kusumāyudha the son and successor of Raṇamarda. In the Mogalucheruvula grant⁶⁸ Kusumāyudha is described as 'Raṇamardānāvayakulatilaka'. A careful study of the record made by S. Dasarathi⁶⁹ reveals that Raṇamarda was the father of Kusumāyudha I. This is contrary to the view expressed by Prof. Bendall. Originally the lines in the copper-plate grant deciphered by Bendall, read as follows:

"Kokkirājā-vairīn-nirjitya tat-sutā
n-ānamya nṛipavarah tat sūnuḥ
Kusumāyudha".

The medial long vowel with which the term 'Kokkirājā' terminates, seems to be a scribal mistake for its short form, and the whole term 'Kokkirājā vairīn nirjitya' seems



to be only a single phrase and should be corrected as 'Kokkirā Vairin-nirjitya'. The term 'nṛipavarah' in the aforesaid lines refers to Raṇamarda as the two verses preceding these lines speak of Raṇamarda and his rule over Mañchikondaṇḍu. This makes us consider Kusumāyudha I as the son of Raṇamarda. Kusumāyudha I was a subordinate and strong supporter of Chālukya Bhīma I. The Koravi record⁷⁰ and the Bezawada copper-plate grant⁷¹ reveal Kusumāyudha's political activity and his support to Chālukya Bhīma I. Being pleased with his services Chālukya Bhīma I acceded to his request and granted a village by name Kūkiparru to a Brāhmaṇa Pōtamayya. This was made on the occasion of the coronation of Chālukya Bhīma I, i.e. on April 17, A.D. 892.

Chālukya Bhīma I was the eldest son of Vikramāditya who was a brother of Guṇaga Vijayāditya III who ruled Vēṅgī from A.D. 848 to 891.⁷² Guṇaga Vijayāditya died without issue and Vikramāditya, his heir apparent, predeceased Guṇaga, resulting in the accession of Chālukya Bhīma I. While discussing the reign of Sōlada-Gaṇḍa-Baddega of the Chālukyas of Vēmulaṇḍa, the hostility between the Chālukyas of Vēṅgī and the Rāshtrakūṭas of Malkhed during the time was clearly brought to notice. Rāshtrakūṭa Krishna II



and his follower Baddega of the Vēmulaṣāda family suffered defeat and humiliation at the hands of Guṇaga Vijayāditya. After the death of Guṇaga Vijayāditya, they retaliated. From the Eastern Chāḷukya records,⁷³ it is known that in this period the Rāshtrakūṭas invaded Vēṅgī more than once. In those attempts they might have over run a part of the territory of Kusumāyudha. This enabled them to launch a direct attack into the heart of Vēṅgī. But Chāḷukya Bhīma I seems to have received timely help from Kusumāyudha I against their common enemy Krishna II, and this help seems to have enabled Chāḷukya Bhīma I to settle himself firmly on the throne. It is said in the Koravi record⁷⁴ that Kusumāyudha I showed dauntless courage and remarkable bravery in restoring the kingdom to Chāḷukya Bhīma I. It is not unreasonable to believe that Kusumāyudha I held a high position in the kingdom as the deputy of Chāḷukya Bhīma I, because of the services rendered by him during the wars with the Rāshtrakūṭas.

It seems that Kusumāyudha I served the rulers of Vēṅgī even before Chāḷukya Bhīma I. The names of his two sons Vijayita Guṇaga and Niravadya which resemble the name and the title of the Vēṅgī emperor Guṇaga Vijayāditya suggest that he was a loyal subordinate to Guṇaga Vijayāditya.



Such was his loyalty that it continued steadily till his death which took place a short period after the coronation of Chālukya Bhīma I.

Vijayāditya Goṇaga succeeded his father and continued the policy of his father towards the kings of Vēṅgī in the early part of his rule. The Koravi record states that he ruled the kingdom along with Chālukya Bhīma I. In various places he is stated as Goṇagayya,⁷⁵ Anuṅgu Goṇaga,⁷⁶ Vijayita, or Bijayita⁷⁷ and Bijja.⁷⁸ These are the variant forms of the name Vijayita Goṇaga. Except the reference to his rule in the Koravi record, nothing is known about his achievements. The circumstances in which he came into the service of Chālukya Bhīma I are not known. The expression "Tama Yamma gattina paṭṭambugāvambūni" in the Koravi record⁷⁹ raises a doubt as to whose coronation ceremony is referred to here. As the word 'Tama' refers to Vijayita Goṇaga and the meaning of the word 'amma' is father, it was Kusumāyudha who is referred to as having performed the paṭṭabandha. Though it is not clear, it may refer to Chālukya Bhīma I's coronation ceremony. If it is so, it can be said that Bhīma's position on the throne was not still secure. The phrase clearly indicates that Vijayita Goṇaga took upon himself the protection of Bhīma, whose coronation was celebrated



by his father Kusumāyudha I. It is said that he ruled along with Chālukya Bhīma I and served him.

He was succeeded by Niravadya. The statement in the Koravi record that Niravadya, who distinguished himself in a number of battles, made himself worthy of the entire "rājyaśrī" of his elder brother points to an internecine warfare between Vijayita Goṇaga and Niravadya. Such revolt is certainly a violation of the principle asserted by his ancestor Polakēśirāja, that 'younger brothers must always serve and protect the throne of their elders'.⁸⁰ Nothing is known of the role of Chālukya Bhīma I in these affairs. Whether he supported one or the other of the disputants, or kept neutral owing to internal disturbances or frequent wars with the Rāshtrakūṭa power, is not known. It is certain that Niravadya revolted against his brother and usurped the throne of Koravi. As he was an usurper, the people of Koravi must have sought confirmation from him of the rights of collecting taxes and levying punishments, previously granted by Goṇaga. Though Vijayita Goṇaga lost the throne, he was trying to regain it, but could not challenge Niravadya. He could have gained the support of the Rāshtrakūṭas, but that did not materialize. On the other hand, he seems to have roused the anger of Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvinda IV, who sent



a huge army against Goṇaga. He had to seek shelter in the court of his neighbour Arikēsari II of Vēmūlavāḍa, who was forming a confederacy against Gōvinda IV of the Rāshṭrakūṭas. The Vēmūlavāḍa inscription⁸¹ of Arikēsari II and the Vikramāriṇaviḷayam⁸² mention that protection was given to Vijayita Goṇaga by Arikēsari II from the wrath of Gōvinda. From this event onwards, it seems that Goṇaga and his son Baddega settled in the kingdom of Vēmūlavāḍa as subordinates of Arikēsari II. The Chennur epigraph⁸³ dated A.D. 941 refers to Baddega, as a subordinate of Arikēsari II in the area of Pōḍananāḍu. Thus the last days of Vijayita Goṇaga ended while in subordination to the Chāḷukyas of Vēmūlavāḍa. S. Dasarathi⁸⁴ opined that it was Vijayāditya that took shelter under Arikēsari II. But chronology points to his identification with Vijayita Goṇaga as more appropriate; and this view is supported by N. Venkataramanyya⁸⁵ and M.V.N. Aditya Sarma.⁸⁶

After the death of Vijayita Goṇaga, the relations of Niravadya with the sons of Goṇaga took a sudden turn. Sources are not sufficient to reveal the state of affairs, but Kusumāyudha II, entitled 'Vinītajanāśraya', another son of Vijayita Goṇaga succeeded his uncle Niravadya to the hereditary throne at Koravi.



Contemporary political conditions and the provenance of the Koravi record suggest that the rule of these early kings extended over the areas of Mañchikonda, Koravi and Kondapalli, which are situated in the present districts of Khammam, Warangal and Krishna respectively.

VIJAYĀDITYA II TO BĒTARĀJA I

Except the references to the names in the records of their successors, nothing is known about the rulers from Vijayāditya II to Bētarāja I. Vijayāditya II succeeded his father 'Vinītajanāśraya' Kusumāyudha II, probably around A.D. 960 and ruled till A.D. 980. After him his son Kusumāyudha III succeeded to the throne and ruled till A.D. 1000. He had four sons Goṇaga, Nijjayarāja, Mallapa and Lōbhachalaka. The Mogalucheruvula grant⁸⁷ refers to only three sons Nijjayarāja, Mallapa and Lōbhachalaka and does not mention Goṇaga, who is known from the Nārāyaṇagiri record.⁸⁸ Among these four, only Goṇaga and Nijjayarāja came to the throne successively after the death of Kusumāyudha III. Goṇaga is also known as Kariya Goṇaga. The Kṛivvaka grant⁸⁹ praises his valour and charity. He bore the epithets 'Koravipuravallabha', 'Ekkala-sāhasa', 'Mahāsāmantādhipati', 'Satyāśraya Kulānvaya', 'Kumāra Kandarpa' and 'Rājavidyādhara'. Parabrahma Sastry⁹⁰ thought



that this Kariya Goṇaga shifted his capital from Mudigoṇḍa to Koravi. If it is so, we cannot explain the sentence 'Koravi Yannadi Mudigoṇḍa salkula Kulasanta' in the Koravi record of the early period, which means that Koravi was the early home of these rulers. This statement clearly signifies the rule of the early kings in the region of Koravi. It is not however known whether it was their capital or an extension of territory from Mudigoṇḍu, which might be the headquarters. It is curious that none of the early rulers bore the epithet 'Lord of Koravipura'. This Kariya Goṇaga was the first ruler that bore the said epithet. His brother and successor Nijjayarāja is praised in the Mogalucheruvula grant as one who bore the burden of the earth. His queen was Āchidēvī. By her he begot a son by name Kusumāyudha IV who is stated to have been an ornament to both the families of his parents. His birth is compared to that of Kumāra to Lord Śiva and Āmbikā. The Mogalucheruvula grant mentions his gift of a village by name Mogalucheruvula to a Brāhmaṇa Dōneya of the Kutsita-gōtra, who was a scholar in the Vēdas and Vēdāṅgas. This was the first copper-plate grant issued by this family. Though there are eight generations of rulers, none of them until Kusumāyudha IV, noted either his ancestry or the dynastic praśasti. Probably under the influence of the other Chālukya dynasties which began the



practice of mentioning praśastis. Kusumāyudha IV stated the usual Chālukya praśasti for his family also and thus enhanced the political stature of his family.

Bētarāja I was the son and successor of Kusumāyudha IV. As stated already, he ruled in between A.D. 1075 and 1100. But it seems the conditions during his rule were far from peaceful. Until the period of Kusumāyudha IV, Koravi was under their sway as evidenced by the Mogalucheruvula grant. But after his death, they must have lost the areas of Koravi to the enemies whose identity is not clearly known. The big powers, the Eastern Chālukya, the Rāshtrakūṭa and the Vēmulaṇḍa families ended practically by that time; and all these areas came under the suzerainty of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa. Parts of the region of Telāṅgaṇa were held by subordinate families like the Chālukyas of Mudigoṇḍa, the Kākatiyas, and the Viriyālas. In these circumstances an enemy occupied Koravi and drove Bētarāja from that area. This made Chālukya Bēta to retreat to a place called 'Boṭṭu' which is somewhere in the forests on the banks of Gōdāvarī. Parabrahmma Sastry⁹¹ thought that the enemy who drove Boṭṭu Bēta from Koravi is no other than the Guṇḍyana the father of Bēta I, of the Kākatiya family. In the political condition of the period that suggestion might indicate a probability. There is no sufficient evidence to declare with certainty that that enemy was Kākatiya Guṇḍyana. Whoever he might be, he created trouble and disturbance to the peaceful reign



of Chālukya Bēta. Bēta had to submit to the frown of adverse conditions and migrated, for the time being to Boṭṭu. Later, when conditions turned propitious, he made trials to re-occupy the hereditary throne of Koravi. The Gudur inscription of Viriyāla Malla⁹² dated A.D. 1124 records, while describing the exploits of his ancestors, that Erra killed the enemies of Boṭṭu Bēta and gave him the Koravi country.

In this context it is necessary to give a brief note about the Gudur inscription. The unstable conditions of the period of occurrence of the events, the uncertain meaning of some terms used in this inscription, and the lack of inter-connection among the stanzas in the record, led to a great deal of discussion among scholars. P. Srinivasachar,⁹³ Kolluru Harshavardhana Sarma,⁹⁴ Chilukuri Papayya Sastry,⁹⁵ Tekumalla Kameswara Rao,⁹⁶ Vedam Venkataraya Sastry,⁹⁷ Bhagavatula Lakshminarayana,⁹⁸ P.V. Parabrahmma Sastry,⁹⁹ C. Somasundara Rao,¹⁰⁰ and Korlapati Srirama Murty,¹⁰¹ contributed to the discussion and threw new light on the history of the period. Among the five stanzas in the record, the third and the fourth are very important, as they narrate the exploits of Viriyāla Erra and his wife Kāmasānī. In that connection, it is said that Erranṛipa, the ancestor of Viriyāla Malla, killed the enemies of Boṭṭu Bēta and gave



him the Koravi country. Scholars have rightly observed¹⁰² that this Boṭṭu Bēta must be a Chālukya prince of Mudigonda, one of the two rulers so named in the later records of this family. The historical significance of the Gudur inscription lies in the role played by the Viriyāla couple, Erra and Kāmasani. They lent support to different political issues; Erra espoused the cause of Chālukya Boṭṭu Bēta and Kāmasanī championed the cause of Kākati Bēta II, and both of them are referred to in this inscription. Kolluru Harshavardhana Sarma,¹⁰³ Chilukuri Papayya Sastry,¹⁰⁴ P.V. Parabrahmma Sastry,¹⁰⁵ and Korlapati Srirama Murty¹⁰⁶ opined that the Kākati Bēta referred to here was Bēta I. But the record is not specific about this. In the first instance, Erra initiated and guided the cause of Boṭṭu Bēta, smashed his enemies and reinstated him in the Koravi kingdom. As a reward for this help he was given some villages like Mogadupalli. The place of the battle and the identity of his enemies are not known. At this time Eastern Telāṅgāna was in an unsettled political condition; so it is not easy to estimate what has actually happened. The respective dates of inscriptions found in those areas do not clarify the correct position. But the known fact is that all the three families Viriyālas, Kākatiyas and the Chālukyas of Mudigonda were only having subordinate status. At one time or other, all of them accepted



the suzerainty of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa. Because the king of Kalyāṇa did not participate in any of the wars mentioned in the Gudur inscription, dispute could be treated as a local one. The other Bēta was Kākati Bēta II, whose side was championed by Kāmasānī which helped the resettlement of the Kākatiyas.

Scholars like Parabrahmma Sastry think¹⁰⁷ that the Kākati Bēta mentioned in the Gudur inscription was Beta I of the Kākatiya family. This conclusion is based on the word 'Garuḍa' in the record; and Garuḍa Bēta becomes identified with Kākati Bēta or Bēta I. But such an identification bristles with difficulties. The actual words in the record are "Yoka mē(lga)rudani Bēta bhuvibhuni ...". Here the adjective 'mēlkaruḍu' is used for Bēta just to denote the helping nature of Bēta. It does not point to any particular Bēta. In another stanza, no doubt, 'Gareṇḍayarāju' a Kannada form of the word Garuḍaya is used. Parabrahmma Sastry thinks¹⁰⁸ that this usage supports his view in identifying the above said Bēta with Garuḍa Bēta or Bēta I. But it is not possible. That Garuḍaya is a different person and belongs to a later period; and is in no way connected with Garuḍa Bēta. As said previously, the main object of the Gudur record is to narrate the exploits of the Viriyāla family before Malla.



In the context where 'Gareṇḍayarāju' is mentioned, the exploits of Viriyāla Sūra like the enthronement of one Ravvanṛipa after killing one Kāḍayanāyaka at a place called Vēlpugonḍa are described. This Viriyāla Sūra was the son of Erṛa and Kāmasānī. Though his date is not correctly known, he lived four generations prior to Mailamāmbā and Malyāla Chaunḍa whose date is A.D. 1200 as known from the Kaṭukūru and Koṇḍipati records. From this, Viriyāla Sūra can be dated roughly to A.D. 1075-1100. As the above said 'Gareṇḍayarāju' is mentioned in association with Sūra, he must have belonged to the same period. Identity of Kākati Bēta in the present context with Garuḍa Bēta or Kākati Bēta I is based on misconceptions. As no ruler with the name Boṭṭu Bēta is known as a contemporary of Garuḍa Bēta of the Kakatiyas, Parabrahmma Sastry¹⁰⁹ introduced one Boṭṭu Bēta as a ruler of Koravi in the period around A.D. 1000. This became necessary for him to defend the identification of Kākati Bēta with Garuḍa Bēta. To prop up his conclusion, he further observes¹¹⁰ in this connection, that the copper-plate grants of this family seem to have omitted some of the names of the kings of their family! All these doubts arise as a consequence of his identification of Kākati Bēta of the Gudur inscription with Bēta I.



Another point that discredits the argument of Parabrahmma Sastry is the reference to Ravvanṛipa in connection with the exploits of Viriyāla Sūra. Ravva was helped by Sūra in regaining Vēlpugonḍa, the present Jafarghad, which is situated about 20 miles south-east of Warangal, from Kāḍayanāyaka who usurped the throne of Ravva. Ravvanṛipa and Kāḍayanāyaka are not yet clearly identified. But Kolluru Harshavardhana Sarma tries¹¹¹ to identify Ravvanṛipa with Kākati Bēta I. Parabrahmma Sastry¹¹² admits that Ravva's identity is not yet clear; but he is inclined to accept the above theory. At one place Sastry accepts¹¹³ the identification of Ravvanṛipa, the king mentioned in the second line of the stanza, with Kākati Bēta I and in another context identifies him¹¹⁴ with Gareṇḍayarāju, who is referred to in the fourth line of the same stanza. In the absence of substantial evidence it is highly impossible to accept Kākati Bēta I, Ravvanṛipa, and Gareṇḍayarāju as one and the same person. The stanza itself shows that Ravvanṛipa and Gareṇḍayarāju are different persons. Ravvanṛipa was a ruler of Vēlpugonḍa and his relations with Kākati Bēta I are yet to come to light. As stated previously, basing on the dates of Kaṭukūru¹¹⁵ and Konḍiparti records,¹¹⁶ Viriyāla Sūra can be dated to A.D. 1075-1100, but this does not fit in with the date of Kākati Bēta I, who was the same as Ravvanṛipa according to Harshavardhana Sarma and



Parabrahmma Sastry. If the same Sūra killed Kādayanāyaka and established Ravvanripa in Vēlpugonḍa, that Ravva must also belong to the same period. In such a situation, the identification of Ravva with Bēta I is not possible as Bēta I belongs to an earlier period. Hence Parabrahmma Sastry¹¹⁷ states that it is not clear which Sūra of the Viriyāla family has achieved this conquest of Vēlpugonḍa. All this confusion is the result of his identification of Bēta with Garuḍa Bēta or Kākati Bēta I.

As stated already, the Viriyāla couple Erra and Kāmasānī and the two Bētas, Chālukya Boṭṭu Bēta and Kākati Bēta must have belonged to adjacent periods, if not the self same period. The chronology of the Chālukyas of Mudigonḍa supplies us with two Bētas who ruled in between A.D. 1075-1100 and A.D. 1125-1150. One of them, has got the help of Viriyāla Erra in protecting his kingdom of Koravi. The chronology of the Viriyālas suggests that this event must have occurred in between A.D. 1050 and 1100. It is therefore reasonable to identify Boṭṭu Bēta of the Gudur inscription with the Bēta of the Mudigonḍa Chālukya family, who ruled from A.D. 1075-1100. As this Beta finds place in the list of rulers mentioned in the Kṛivvaka grant, there is no necessity to introduce another ruler of the same name as is done by



Parabrahmma Sastry. Though it is not specifically stated in the grant, he must have had the prefix 'Boṭṭu'.

In the fourth and fifth stanzas of the inscription are mentioned Kāmasāni's help to Kākati Bēta, and the conquests of Sūra. These events also happened after A.D. 1050 and before A.D. 1100. The then ruler of the Kākatiya family was Bēta II. To him only these services were rendered by Kāmasāni and her son Sūra. The help of Vaijadanḍādhinātha to Bēta as recorded in the Anumakoṇḍa inscription¹¹⁸ of A.D. 1117, also lends support to this evidence. Chronology permits the connection of these events with Bēta II. The main difficulties in accepting the identification of Garuḍa Bēta with Kākati Bēta are the following:

- i) Chronology does not permit such an identification;
- ii) Vaijadanḍādhinātha, the father of the minister of Bēta II, rendered the same help to Bēta II, which supports indirectly the championing of Viriyāla Kāmasāni of the cause of Bēta II;
- iii) Finally, the Gudur inscription does not mention Garuḍa Bēta. It merely mentions one Kākati Bēta, which term could be applicable to any Bēta of that family.

So it appears more cogent¹¹⁹ to identify this Kākati Bēta as Bēta II on chronological grounds. In his younger days, he was protected by Kāmasāni; and in his later conquests he was helped by Sūra and Vaijadanḍāthinātha as the Gudur and Anumakoṇḍa inscriptions suggest.



This entire discussion on the Gudur record of Viriyāla Malla is relevant to solve some of the problems that relate to the Chālukyas of Mudigonda. As one Bēta is known at the time of these events, there is no necessity to introduce new figures in the list of this family. The entire genealogy is given in the copper-plate grants of these rulers, and the lists are genuine. The re-occupation of the Koravi kingdom, mentioned in the Gudur inscription, took place in the period of (Boṭṭu) Bēta, who ruled in between A.D. 1075-1100.

KUSUMĀYUDHA V TO NĀGATIRĀJA

After the rule of Boṭṭu Bētaraja, his son and successor Kusumāyudha V came to the throne and ruled in between A.D. 1100 and 1125. His political activities are not known. But his epithet 'Muṭṭānegalla' described in the Kṛivvaka grant,¹²⁰ shows that he is a great warrior. His son was Boṭṭu Bēta entitled 'Vinītajanāśraya'. Boṭṭu Bēta married Śrī Mahādevī, who is described as 'Abhinavagaurī'. By her he had two sons, Kusumāditya with the title 'Mārbalakēsari', and Nāgatirāja with the epithet 'Vivēkanārāyaṇa'. These two were the last prominent rulers in this dynasty. In spite of the keen role played by Nāgatirāja in overcoming all



the difficulties, he could not withstand till the last the mounting hostile forces; and this finally resulted in the downfall of the kingdom. The Kṛivvaka plates of Kusumāditya (Kusumāyudha VI), Palampet record¹²¹ of Rēcherla Rudra, and the Nattarāmēśvaram inscription¹²² of Kolani Sōmaya clearly show the gradual decline in the political status of the Mudigonda princes. The seal on their grant represents Varāhalāñchhana, amkusa, crescent, śankha, makaratōraṇa, a couple of fly-whisks, an empty throne and umbrella. Except for the absence of legend on the seal, these almost resemble the seals on the Eastern Chāḷukya copper-plate grants.

One important event that occurred in the period of Kusumāyudha VI was noted in the Kṛivvaka grant.¹²³ During the first year of his rule some disaster (bhūmipraghattambu) had befallen the kingdom. Then his Śrīkaraṇādhīpati, Indaparāja, and Indaparāja's brother Rēmarāja, who were serving as ministers, collected all the valuables, vehicles and family treasures, and carried the king to the far away places. For twelve years they sojourned in the forests subsisting on roots, fruits and vegetables and suffering great hardships. Remaining loyal to the king during this period of distress, these ministers made earnest efforts to



bring Kusumāyudha VI back to the native country, Visurunādu and enabled him to recover his throne. Kusumāditya, out of gratitude for the loyalty and timely advice of these ministers, raised them to the position of 'Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras' conferring on them the insignia of their status. The fertile village named Kṛivvaka lying on the bank of Gōdāvarī was granted to them as an agrahāra. It is identified with Kṛivvaka which is in the Palvancha Taluq, roughly 30 kilometres from Bhadrāchalam in the Khammam district. From this record it is evident that Kusumāyudha VI had to be away from the capital city for a period of 12 years. But it does not offer any clue regarding the identity of the aggressor and the specific area to which Kusumāyudha VI has fled. In course of time, he was able to regain his lost dominions with the help of Śrīkaraṇādhīpati Indaparāju and his brother Rēmarāju.

This record states that 'Visuru-nādu' is the native country (nīlādēśamu) of Kusumāyudha VI. It may be considered as co-extensive with Koravi-sīmā. No other record of this family, except these plates, refers to Visurunādu. During the period of Kokkirāja and Rāṇamarda the region of sway extended upto Koṇḍapalli in the Krishna district. From that period onwards (but for the two eclipses suffered, one in the period of Boṭṭu Bēta and the other in the period of Kusumāyudha VI), the Mudigōṇḍas were the de facto rulers



over Mudigonda and Koravi. In the Koravi record this area under their rule is named as Raṇamardaka-sīma.¹²⁴ Roughly after two centuries, the same area is referred to in the Gudur record as the country of Koravi.¹²⁵ There could be no doubt that it was the native land of this family. The Kṛivvaka grant mentions 'Visurunādu' as the native country of these Chālukyas.¹²⁶

It is not known whether all these places lay in one and the same region, that is between Koravi in the Warangal district and Mudigonda in the Khammam district. As the gift village Kṛivvaka is identified with Kṛivvaka which is in the Palvanča Taluq of the Khammam district, it can be positively said that the present Palvanča Taluq roughly corresponds to the Visuru-nādu referred to in the grant. In support of this identification, may be cited the Rajahmundry Museum plates of the Eruva chiefs,¹²⁷ they register the grant of a village named Uttamagaṇḍa-Chōḍānnadēvavaram situated at the confluence of the rivers Gaṅgā and Pinnaśānī in Visuru-nādu to some Brāhmaṇas. If the Gaṅgā and Pinnaśānī are identified with the Gōḍavarī and Kinnerasānī respectively, that village should lie somewhere in the Pālvañcha area of the Khammam district.¹²⁸ Hence it can be said that the area of contest between these Chālukya chiefs and their enemies



is no other than the Palvancha Taluq of the Khammam district.

It is not clear as to who made the expedition on the kingdom of Kusumāyudha VI. Parabrahmma Sastry¹²⁹ states that the aggressor was the Kākatiya ruler. The geographical proximity of the kingdoms of these two dynasties often led them no hostilities; and hence there is every probability that the aggressor was a Kākatiya prince. Apart from this, the events that took place later between Nāgatirāja, the brother of Kusumāyudha VI, and Recherla Rudra, the famous general of the Kākatiyas, lend credibility to the identification of the above enemy as a Kākatiya prince. Parabrahmma Sastry opines¹³⁰ that the aggressor who disturbed them in those areas was Kākati Rudradēva (A.D. 1158-1195). In his various attempts to become an unquestionable monarch in the areas of Telangāna, Rudradēva could have clashed with Kusumāyudha VI and Nāgatirāja. Nāgatirāja, the 'Vivēkanārāyaṇa', unsheathed his sword to check the increasing expansion of Kākatiya power. He could not tolerate any more extension of Kākatiya authority in the area around his native land. Moreover, the dictum of Polakēśirāja, his ancestor, that it was the duty of younger brothers to serve their elders and protect their kingdoms¹³¹ inspired him to take revenge on the Kākatiya power. He must have timed his attack when the Kākatiya kingdom fell into a



valamitous condition.¹³² Rudradēva and Mahādēva were no more; and the latter's son, Gaṇapatidēva, became a captive in the hands of his Yādava enemies, by Circa A.D. 1199. This provided a good opportunity for Nāgatirāja to crush the Kākatiya power. But he was not destined to succeed.

Kākatiya commanders like Rēcherla Rudra fought valiantly and repulsed the army headed by Nāgati. The Palampet record¹³³ of Rēcherla Rudra clearly shows that he suppressed opponents like Nāgatirāja and saved the fortune of the Kākatiya king, when that goddess of fortune set her foot, by mistake, among sharp thorns.

This defeat drove Nāgatirāja from Telangāna; he retreated to the areas of the lower Godavari valley and sought shelter in the court of the Kolanu chiefs. The reference to Boṭṭu Nāgatirāja in a record of Kolani Sōmaya at Nattarāmēśvaram¹³⁴ dated A.D. 1218 evidently shows that Nāgati spent the rest of his life in the service of Kolani Sōmaya. Thus all the attempts of Nāgatirāja to protect his native land ended in failure and gradually this family lost its political significance. In a later period, though one Boṭṭu Śrīrāmabhadrarāja a member of the Mānavyasa-gōtra who bore the titles of Mudigōṇḍa family, like 'Vinītajanāśraya', 'Prachchanna Vidyādhara', 'Mārbala Kēsari', 'Koravipura



Varādhīśvara', is known from a record from Śrīkākulam¹³⁵ in the Krishna district, his connections with the members of the Mudigonda family are not known.

Though Mudigonda Chālukyas did not achieve any outstanding victories in contemporary politics, they helped to maintain the political equilibrium in Telangāna. The family had relations with the neighbouring royal houses like the Rashtrakūṭas, the Chālukyas of Vēṅgī, the Chālukyas of Vēmūlavāḍa, the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa, and with the Viriyāla, the Kakatīya and the Rōcherla families and the Kolanu chiefs in the lower Gōḍavārī valley. Thus this family established by Kokkirāja and Raṇamarda in the early half of the ninth century became weak and disappeared from the political scene of Andhra in the first quarter of the thirteenth century.



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60. I.A. Vol.XXXII, p.281.
In the view of Parabrahma Sastry (Bhāratī, April, 1981, p.5) Prof. Bendall desecrated the text and meaning of the Mogalucheruvula grant, which will lead us to wrong derivations. Neither those plates nor their estampage copies are available at present and hence we have no option except to rely upon the text of the record given by Prof. Bendall. But regarding the identifications of Polakesiraja and Ranamarda, and in deciphering the word 'Yat Kanyakam' in the place of 'Yat Kanthikam', the reading of Prof. Bendall is not clear.
61. Epi. Andhrīca, Vol. I, p.124.
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63. Ibid., p.119.
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67. "Koṇḍa mida veṇḍi ginne
Kokkirāju Kālu virige,
dāni kēmi mandu?
velluligaḍḍa
nīniya boḍḍu
nūṭokka dhāra"!
68. I.A. Vol. XXXII, p.281.
69. Epi. Andhrīca, Vol. I, p.124.
70. Ibid., p.142.
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73. Ibid., p.136.
74. Epi. Andhrīca, Vol. I, p.142.
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106. Bhāratī, August, 1982, p.45.
107. Ibid., January, 1980, p.33 and Bhāratī, December, 1981, p.10.
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111. A.S.P.P., Vol.51, p.57.
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129. The Kakatiyas of Warangal, p.99.
130. Ibid.
131. I.A., Vol. XXXII, p.281.
132. The Kakatiyas of Warangal, p.99.
133. Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Warangal District, No.50.
134. S.I.I., Vol. X, No.262.
135. Ibid., Vol. IV, No.961.



CHAPTER - III

THE CHĀLUKYAS OF JANANĀTHAPURA

The Chālukya dynasty that ruled at Jananāthapura was one among the many ruling families that claimed descent from the moon and connected themselves with the Chālukyas of Vēṅgī. The rulers of this branch of the Chālukyas usually styled themselves as Sarvalōkāśraya Vishṇuvardhanas, the branded title of the Eastern Chālukyas; and on many occasions the personal name of the king is ignored and the title only occurs. They ruled the area around Rajahmundry, Pithāpuram and Drākshārāma in the 12th and 13th Centuries. This branch claimed its descent from Bētavijayāditya or Vijayāditya V, the seventeenth ruler of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty of Vēṅgī. Their capital seems to be Jananāthapura.

Genealogy and Chronology:

The reconstruction of genealogy and chronology of the rulers of this family is not an easy task, as a number of problems are involved in them. While dealing with this subject, the Government Epigraphist once declared that he was unable to reconcile statements made in various inscriptions. Sewell,² Hultzsch,³ Fleet,⁴ V. Yasodadevi,⁵ M. Somasekhara Sarma, M.V.N. Aditya Sarma⁶ and M. Sambasivaramamurty⁷ are the scholars who worked on this subject. The genealogy and the chronology of these rulers has not been reconstructed



satisfactorily. M. Sambasivaramamurty, the latest writer on the topic concluded that future researches alone will solve the problem. In spite of various difficulties involved, it is possible, in the light of the researches of those scholars, to fix the genealogy and chronology of the rulers of this branch.

Genealogy:

It is useful to survey the details of the genealogy that are stated in various records.

The Edarupalli re-issued grant of Vishnuvardhana dated A.D. 1179,⁸ the Pithapuram pillar inscription of Vishnuvardhana Mallapa dated A.D. 1202,⁹ and the Madras Museum plates of Mahādeva, a subordinate of Sarvalokaśraya Vishnuvardhana (identical with Mallapa II) of this Chālukya family, dated A.D. 1205,¹⁰ are the main sources of information about the genealogy of these rulers. They record the genealogy of this branch with mythical and legendary figures; later, they mention the Eastern Chālukya ancestors. They give almost identical genealogy with slight differences in respect of their ancestors who can be termed as Chālukyas of Jananāthapura. It is as follows:





Among these kings, Bēta Vijayāditya is the earliest. He was the seventeenth ruler in the pedigree of the Chālukyas of Vēngī, and lived around A.D. 929.¹¹ This branch claimed him as the founder of this line. Except these records, there are no evidences that connect him with the foundation of a separate branch of rulers. These records issued roughly two and half centuries later, state that Satyāśraya alias 'Uttama Chālukya' was the son and successor of Bēta Vijayāditya. Basing on these records, Fleet¹² and V. Yasodadevi¹³ accepted that Satyāśraya was the son and successor of Bēta Vijayāditya. But Sewell observed¹⁴ that Satyāśraya lived about one hundred and fifty years after Bēta Vijayāditya, and so did not consider Satyāśraya as Bēta Vijayāditya's son. Though Satyāśraya's records are not available, it is a fact that he married Gaurī, the princess of the Gaṅga family (who may have



been related¹⁵ to the Eastern Gaṅga king Anaṅtavarman Chōḍagaṅga of Kaṭiṅga who ascended the throne in A.D. 1078) which shows that Satyāśraya should be placed in later 11th or early 12th Century. Moreover, Satyāśraya's grandson Viṣṇuvardhana and great grandson Vijayāditya became kings in A.D. 1124 and A.D. 1158 respectively.¹⁶ This would be possible only if Satyāśraya is placed in the last quarter of the eleventh century. Hence the view of Sewell¹⁷ that Satyāśraya was a late successor of Bēta Vijayāditya is more probable.

Probably, with a view to enhance its glory, this branch might have drawn its descent from Bēta Vijayāditya, a ruler of the Chāḷukyas of Vēṅgī. As some of the subordinate families of the 11th and 12th Centuries, like the Koṇḍapadumatis also made similar claim¹⁸ that their ancestor Buddhavarman was rewarded with the hereditary rulership of 73 villages by Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana. This type of claim for long ancestry seems to be prevalent at that time. Because these rulers were also Chāḷukyas, they directly connected themselves with the Chāḷukyas of Vēṅgī through Bēta Vijayāditya. It is therefore doubtful whether as mentioned in this genealogical scheme Bēta Vijayāditya is the founder of this branch, and it is difficult to accept him as the father of Satyāśraya.



The Edarupalli re-issued grant¹⁹ and the Madras Museum plates²⁰ mention the name of the mother of the last ruler in the above genealogy, Vishnuvardhana, as Lakshmīdēvī. But the Pithāpuram pillar inscription²¹ gives her name as Gaṅgāmbā. Moreover, the name of the king is stated as Vishnuvardhana in the former, whereas he is styled as Vishnuvardhana Mallapa in the latter. It is possible that there are two Vishnuvardhana Mallapas in this family near about the same time.

The similarity in the names of the two Vishnuvardhana Mallapas led to confusion,²² and as a result, the records of one Vishnuvardhana Mallapa have been mistaken by previous scholars to be those of the other. Calculation based on this misconception, caused difficulties in fixing the genealogy and chronology of these rulers. Sewell²³ did not specify the date of accession of Mallapa. V. Yasodadevi²⁴ tried to adjust all the inscriptions of Vishnuvardhana Mallapa dated before A.D. 1200, in the period of rule of his father Vijayāditya, stating that Mallapa came to the throne in A.D. 1200. But at the present state of our knowledge, the two Vishnuvardhana Mallapas, the sons of the same Vijayāditya, can be distinguished as separate rulers.

Basing on the difference in the names of the mothers of Vishnuvardhana Mallapas, M. Somasekhara Sarma, and M.V.N.



Aditya Sarma²⁵ rightly pointed out that they were different rulers. M. Sambasivaramamurty also opined that Vishnuvardhana Mallapas might be separate kings. The Edarupalli re-issued grant,²⁶ the Madras Museum plates²⁷ and a set of inscriptions belong to one Vishnuvardhana Mallapa, i.e. son of queen Lakshmidēvi, and whose coronation date is A.D. 1173; whereas another set of records like the Pithapuram pillar inscription²⁸ belongs to another Vishnuvardhana Mallapa, i.e., the son of Queen Gaṅgāmbā, and whose coronation date is A.D. 1202. After scrutiny, all the temple inscriptions of both these Vishnuvardhana Mallapas, are classified as follows as to which of them belong to which ruler:

Inscriptions of Vishnuvardhana Mallapa, son of Lakshmidēvi who came to the throne in A.D. 1173.

Inscriptions of Vishnuvardhana Mallapa, son of Gaṅgāmbā who was coronated in A.D. 1202.

Sl. No.	Date	Place	Reference	Sl. No.	Date	Place	Reference
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.
1.	A.D. 1176, 3rd regnal year	Bhīmavaram	S.I.I.V., 91, A.R.E. 487 of 1893.	1.	A.D. 1202	Pithapuram	E.I. Vol. IV p.226, A.R.E. 492 of 1893
2.	A.D. 1177, 3rd regnal year.	-do-	S.I.I.V., 90, A.R.E. No.486 of 1893.	2.	(Date supplied by Govt. Epigraphist as A.D.1202)	Bhīmavaram	S.I.I.V., 93 A.R.E. 489 of 1893

contd..



1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.
3. A.D. 1177, 4th regnal year.	Drākshā- rāma	<u>S.I.I. IV,</u> <u>1168, A.R.E.</u> No.297 of 1893.	3. A.D. 1218	Drākshā- rāma	<u>S.I.I.</u> <u>Vol. I</u> <u>1221,</u> <u>A.R.E.</u> No.33 of 18		
4. A.D. 1177	Bhīma- varam	<u>S.I.I. V,</u> <u>70, A.R.E.</u> No.481-A of 1893.	4. A.D. 1234	-do-	<u>S.I.I.</u> <u>Vol. IV</u> <u>1022,</u> <u>A.R.E.</u> No.195- of 1893		
5. A.D. 1179, 6th regnal year ²⁹	Drākshā- rāma	<u>S.I.I. IV,</u> <u>1202, A.R.E.</u> No.320 of 1893.	5. 39th regnal year	Bhīma- varam	<u>S.I.I.</u> <u>Vol. V,</u> <u>75, A.R.</u> <u>482 of</u> <u>1893.</u>		
6. A.D. 1183 9th regnal year	Bhīma- varam	<u>S.I.I. V,</u> <u>89, A.R.E.</u> No.485 of 1893.					
7. A.D. 1183, 10th regnal year.	-do-	<u>S.I.I. V,</u> <u>67, A.R.E.</u> 479 of 1893					
8. A.D. 1187	Juttiga	<u>S.I.I. X,</u> <u>203, A.R.E.</u> 739 of 1920.					

Next, one Viranarēndra, son of Vijayāditya and Lakshmidēvī,
and grandson of Mallapa is known from a record dated A.D. 1176



from Bhīmavaram.³⁰ A record from Drākshārāma³¹ dated A.D. 1176 mentions him as Vishṇuwardhana and gives the names of his parents. Viranareṇdra is considered as a brother of Mallapa and as another son of Vijayāditya and Lakshmīdēvī. Sewell³² also noted him as the son of Vijayāditya and Lakshmīdēvī. One record from Bhīmavaram³³ dated A.D. 1223 mentions Udayachandradēva, entitled Sarvalōkāśraya Vishṇuwardhana as the ruler. Though his parentage is not stated in that record, he is stated to be the son of Vishṇuwardhana Goṇaga in his Drākshārāma record³⁴ dated A.D. 1225. Scholars like Sewell³⁵ identified this Vishṇuwardhana Goṇaga as Vishṇuwardhana Mallapa, who was crowned in the Kuntīmādhava temple at Pithāpuram in A.D. 1202. Because the mother's names of both Goṇaga and Mallapa are stated as Gaṅgāmba in both the inscriptions, the identification may be accepted and Udayachandra may be considered as a son of Mallapa, who was crowned in A.D. 1202.

One Chandrasēkharadēva, who bore the epithet Vishṇuwardhana is known as a ruler from his two inscriptions at Drākshārāma³⁶ dated A.D. 1226 and A.D. 1229. His parentage or other details are not stated in these records. Even then V. Yasodadevi³⁷ identified him as the younger brother of Udayachandradēva. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, this suggestion may be accepted.

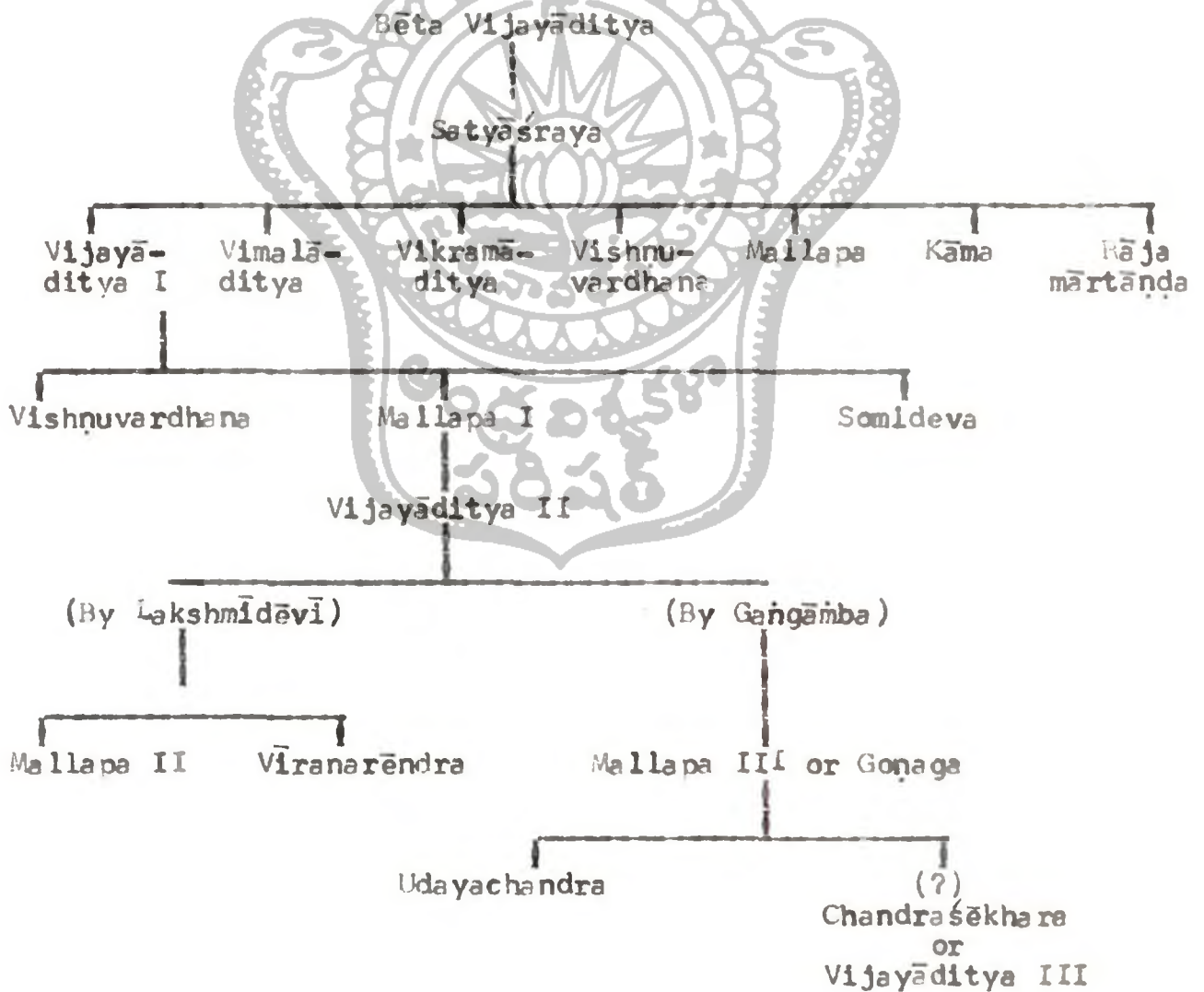


Regarding the last rulers of this branch, sufficient details are not available. But one copper-plate grant noticed by Sewell³⁸ carries the genealogy of this family five generations further. Though that grant is not available at present, V. Rangacharya³⁹ states that the contents of that inscription show that it was issued by a Chief of the Bēta Vijayāditya line. This record adds five more generations, after Mallapa, who was crowned in the Kuntīmādhava temple at Pithāpuram in A.D. 1202. It states that the donor king Śrīsēna Sārathi was a king in the fifth generation after Mallapadēva. The rulers between him and Mallapa were, Bhūpa, Pratāpabhūdhara, Vishṇuwardhana and Mahādēva. There is no other source to corroborate the contents. Though the names of the third and fourth rulers, Vishṇuwardhana and Mahādēva resemble the names of the Chālukya princes, the first two names Bhūpa, and Pratāpabhūdhara are new names. Instead of treating them as the names of the rulers, they can be better regarded as the titles of those rulers. In the light of the inscriptions⁴⁰ of the later period found at places like Bezwada, Juttiga, Pālakollu and Taḍikalapūḍi, we can trace the name of Mahādēva among the Chālukya kings of the Niḍadavōlu branch in the 13th century. But there is no possibility of identifying any one of them with this Mahādēva, the predecessor of Śrīsēnasārathi, as the names



of the ancestors mentioned in those records are not tallying with those of the copper-plate record presently under discussion. Hence it is difficult to accept the list of five rulers given by Sewell⁴¹ as correct.

These considerations lead to the formulation of the genealogy of the rulers of this branch as follows:



Chronology:

The Edārupalli re-issued grant,⁴² the Pithāpuram pillar inscription⁴³ and the Madras Museum plates⁴⁴ yield much information about the chronology of these rulers. Satyāśraya, Vijayāditya I, Mallapa I, Vijayāditya II and Mallapa (II or III) were the successive rulers stated in the list. The last ruler Mallapa was Mallapa II, according to the Edārupalli re-issued grant⁴⁵ and the Madras Museum plates,⁴⁶ whereas he was Mallapa III according to the Pithāpuram pillar inscription.⁴ Besides the names of the Queens of these rulers, no other historical details like the struggles for succession are known. Even in the given list of rulers, the period of their rule is not mentioned. This is a deviation from the method the Chālukyas of Vēngī, from whom this branch claimed its descent, followed. Hence there are some difficulties in fixing the chronology of these rulers. But fortunately in the above list of rulers, the records mention⁴⁸ the dates of coronation of Vijayāditya II and Mallapa III respectively. Vijayāditya II came to the throne in A.D. 1158, and Mallapa III was crowned in A.D. 1200. These two dates form the main basis for framing the chronology of this family. On the basis of these two coronation dates and on the dates of various other records issued by these rulers, the following chronological scheme may be formulated for the rulers of this family.



A.D

Satyāśraya	-	1078 - 1118
Vijayāditya I	-	1118 - 1124
Vishnuvardhana	-	1124 - 1151
Mallapa I	-	1151 - 1158
Vijayāditya II	-	1158 - 1173
Mallapa II	-	1173 - 1205
Vīranarēndra	-	1177 - 1179
Mallapa III	-	1202 - 1241
Udayachandradēva	-	1223 - 1225
Chandraśekhara or Vijayāditya III	-	1225 - 1255

A brief explanation is needed in support of this chronological scheme. In this scheme, Bētavijayāditya is not counted as a ruler of this line, though he is stated as such in the records. As Sewell⁴⁹ observed, he lived about one hundred and fifty years earlier to Satyāśraya and hence he is not treated as the first ruler in this line.

The records of the earliest known ruler Satyāśraya are not available; and hence his date is fixed on the basis of the dates of his successors and on the basis of his contemporaries with other known rulers of the period. His great grandson Vijayāditya II was crowned in A.D. 1158.⁵⁰ Allotting 25 years for each generation from this date, backwards, Satyāśraya



may be dated near the third quarter of the 11th century. Satyāśraya's queen Gaurī was the princess of the Gaṅga family and might have been related to the Eastern Gaṅga king, Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga of Kalinga (accession in A.D. 1078) as was suggested by Hultzsch.⁵¹ As such, it is not unreasonable to fix the earliest date of Satyāśraya as A.D. 1078.

Regarding the period of Vijayāditya I, V. Yasodadevi⁵² opined that it was closed by about A.D. 1123, whereas M. Sambasivaramamurty⁵³ thought that it began in A.D. 1127. But we have come across a number of records⁵⁴ of one Viṣṇuvardhana whose date of coronation lies in A.D. 1124. He may be identified as Viṣṇuvardhana, the son and successor of Vijayāditya I. Hence the last date of Vijayāditya I may be fixed as A.D. 1124. Though his initial regnal year is not known, it might be fixed as A.D. 1118 which was the date of departure of Vikramachōḷa to the South.

Scholars⁵⁵ differ in identifying Viṣṇuvardhana, the successor of Vijayāditya I. Some say that it is his son; and others suggest that it is his namesake Viṣṇuvardhana, the fourth brother of Vijayāditya I. But it seems almost certain that the Viṣṇuvardhana who succeeded Vijayāditya I could be none other than his son. No brother of Vijayāditya I is stated to be a ruler anywhere; and Mallapa I (brother of



Vishṇuvardhana) succeeded to the throne immediately after Vishṇuvardhana and he was followed by his son, Vijayāditya II. So certainly that Vishṇuvardhana must be the son, and not the brother, of Vijayāditya I.

V. Yasodadevi⁵⁶ also pointed out that the Madras Museum plates are definite that Vishṇuvardhana succeeded his father Vijayāditya I. This sets at nought the doubts about his place in the genealogy.

A number of inscriptions⁵⁷ found in Drākshārāma, Juttiga, Bhīmavaram and Rajahmundry are dated in Śaka as well as regnal years of one Vishṇuvardhana. None of them refers to the family details of this Vishṇuvardhana nor his position in the family. All of them just state the regnal years of Vishṇuvardhana, sometimes accompanied by the Śaka dates. By this time, all these areas were under the possession of this family as is confirmed by the details known from inscriptions. So all these inscriptions in these areas commencing with A.D. 1124 as the initial regnal year of Vishṇuvardhana might be attributed to this king Vishṇuvardhana, son of Vijayāditya I. As the 26th regnal year is the highest regnal year mentioned in one Bhīmavaram record,⁵⁸ as per the calculation of N. Lakshminarayana Rao,⁵⁹ A.D. 1151 might be fixed as the last date of this Vishṇuvardhana. A record from Juttiga⁶⁰ dated A.D. 1151 mentions Mallirāja, son of Vijayāditya as the ruler



He is identified as Mallapa II, the brother and successor of this Vishnuvardhana, and hence the 26th regnal year stated in the above Bhīmaṣaṁ record⁶¹ may be attributed undoubtedly to this Vishnuvardhana. V. Yasodadevi⁶² opined that Vishnuvardhana ruled till A.D. 1145 only. But as stated above it appears that he ruled till A.D. 1151.

Sōmidēva, the younger brother of Mallapa I, is mentioned as a ruler in the records of his successors; but there are no records of his own to clarify his political career. Consequently, in the above scheme no period of rule is assigned to him. Recently, an inscription at Śrīkūṛman⁶³ (assigned to the 12th Century on palaeographical grounds) is found referring to Vishnuvardhana Vijayāditya and recording a gift of sheep for lamp to the deity Kūṛmanātha by his son Sōmēśvara. As the names, Vijayāditya and Sōmidēva are found as father and son in the Eḍarupalli grant,⁶⁴ Piṭhāpuram inscription,⁶⁵ and Madras Museum plates⁶⁶ there is a possibility to identify Sōmēśvara with Sōmidēva. However, he need not be considered as a ruler in his own right as the gift was made in the period of rule of his father Vijayāditya.

An important problem pertaining to the reign of Vijayāditya II is the date of his coronation. The Eḍarupalli



re-issued grant⁶⁷ and the Pithāpuram pillar inscription⁶⁸ make mention of the date of his coronation. In them the chronogram for the Śaka year is "nidhi-jaladhi-viya-ch-chandraḡē". The actual day of his coronation is given as Saturday, on the 10th tithi of bright fortnight. The nakshatra was Rōhiṇī and the lagna was mīnalagna. His year of coronation falls in Ś.1049, as nidhi represent nine, jaladhi, four, vivat zero, and chandra one. But a number of stone inscriptions of that date⁶⁹ clearly state that Viṣṇuvardhana, his uncle, was ruling the country. Hence this date stands problematic and needs a careful study.

The Śaka year in which Vijayāditya II was crowned is only expressed in a chronogram but not in figures. The second numerical word 'jaladhi' was commonly used for figure four in the inscriptions of medieval Āndhra. As it is clearly indicated by the same word in a copper-plate record as well as in a stone inscription, it need not be considered as the engraver's mistake. If we accept the given date as correct, the problem is, the kingdom would be under the control of Viṣṇuvardhana. As such Kielhorn⁷⁰ calculated the astronomical details given in this record and fixed 11th January, A.D. 1158 as the date of coronation. To quote his words, "For Śaka 1049 expired, the date would correspond to Saturday, 14th January, A.D. 1128, For Śaka 1079 expired,



the date would correspond to Saturday, the 11th January, A.D. 1158. I am inclined to think that the second equivalent is preferable to the first, because the abhiṣeka actually took place during the 10th tithi". Though this usage is uncommon in the records of medieval Āndhra, Hultzsch⁷¹ accepted that the numerical word 'ocean' may represent also the figure 'seven'. In support of his view is cited one Śrīkūrmam inscription⁷² where the word 'sāgara' was used to represent the figure 'seven' (Śākṛdē ravisagākshi-sahitē and Śakavarushambulu 1272). Hence 'Jaladhi' which is a synonym for "sāgara" may be equated with seven in this context also. It can be stated that Vijayāditya II ruled from A.D. 1158 to A.D. 1173, the latter being the earliest date of Mallapa II.

Next, in the above chronological scheme, A.D. 1173-1205 is fixed as the period of rule of Mallapa II. While discussing the genealogy, a complete list of his stone-inscriptions is given; and those inscriptions help in fixing the earliest date of this ruler as A.D. 1173. The Madras Museum plates⁷³ dated A.D. 1205 are the latest to mention his rule and hence that date may be taken as his last date.

The short period of rule of Viranarēndra is attested to in some records,⁷⁴ But as his political life falls within the regnal period of Mallapa II and has no particular signific



he may be regarded as a conjoint ruler with Mallapa II during that short span.

Vishnuvardhana Mallapa III got crowned in A.D. 1200 according to his Pithāpureṃ pillar inscription.⁷⁵ In the discussion on genealogy, a list of his inscriptions is given and among them, the 39th regnal year is the highest. Hence he is taken to have ruled upto A.D. 1241.

Finally, the periods of rule of Udayachandra and Chandraśēkhara, the last rulers of this branch, fall in the regnal period of Mallapa III. As such, they could have ruled probably as conjoint rulers with Mallapa III. Udayachandra mentioned Mallapa as his father in an inscription dated A.D. 1223.⁷⁶ Chandraśēkhara issued some inscriptions dated A.D. 1226,⁷⁷ 1229⁷⁸ and 13th regnal year⁷⁹ (1239) without any reference to his father. As his inscription at Juttiga⁸⁰ dated in his 13th regnal year shows almost his independent rule, and as this date falls in the reign of Mallapa III (who ruled upto A.D. 1241), it is reasonable to think that Chandraśēkhara was a conjoint ruler with Mallapa III after the death of Udayachandra, though his relationship with Mallapa III is not known. The inscription from Āchanṭa dated A.D. 1255⁸¹ bearing the title 'Vishnuvardhana' from one Vijayāditya is now considered as an inscription of the king Vijayāditya III which is an alias of Chandraśēkhara.



This assignment gives regnal years to Chandraśekhara after his conjoint rule for 13 years with Mallapa III.

BĒTA VIJAYĀDITYA

The death of Ammarāja-Vishnuvardhana in A.D. 929 gave an opportunity for the subordinates and relatives of the royal family to claim the throne for themselves with the help of neighbouring kings.⁸² The right claimant, Ammarāja's elder son Bētavijayāditya or Kanṭhika Bēta, who had not yet passed the age of childhood, succeeded to the sovereignty of Vēngī. Some loyal subordinates and trusted commanders supported the claims of this boy-king and opposed the disruptive and treacherous elements in the kingdom. In spite of all these efforts Bētavijayāditya was not fortunate to reign long on the Vēngī throne. Tālārāja (the eldest son of Yuddhamalla I) and Vikramāditya (the younger brother of Kollābhigaṇḍa Vijayāditya) were the foremost among the claimants. Their attempts to snatch the throne led to internecine warfare which endangered the country's peace and safety. It is said that they fought like 'rākshasas' and put the people to a lot of suffering.⁸³ Within a short period, Tālārāja defeated Kanṭhika Bēta in a battle. How he managed to overthrow Bēta and seize the kingdom, is not possible to ascertain. Probably he obtained the help of neighbouring



powers like the Rāshtrakūṭas. Inscriptions state that Kanṭhika Bēta ruled only for a fortnight and after this brief reign he was attacked, defeated and expelled from the country.⁸⁴ The Guṇḍugolanu plates of Amma II refer to Kanṭhika Bēta as having been captured by Tālaraja.⁸⁵ Thus the short period of rule of Bētaviṣṇayāditya of the Eastern Chāḷukya family unfortunately ended abruptly. All this seems to have taken place in the winter of A.D. 929.

What happened to Bētaviṣṇayāditya after his captivity is not known. The records of this period do not suggest his death or his subordination to the victors. Some of them omit his name among the rulers. Some scholars have tried to identify this Bētaviṣṇayāditya with Bijja or Viṣṇayita mentioned in the Vemulavāda inscription⁸⁶ of Arikēsari II, and in the Vikramāraṇaviṣṇayam of Pampa⁸⁷ and have suggested that he took shelter there under Arikēsari II. But opinion differs about this identity.⁸⁸ As opined by B.V. Krishna Rao,⁸⁹ no records of the Eastern Chāḷukyas refers to this prince as Bijja. In them his name is mentioned as Bētaviṣṇayāditya or Kanṭhika Viṣṇayāditya only. Moreover, Arikēsari rescued Bijja from the wrath of Gōvīṇḍarāja, the Rāshtrakūṭa monarch. That Bijja or Viṣṇayāditya belongs to the Mudigonda Chāḷukya family, and so he cannot be identified with this Bētaviṣṇayāditya.



Despite the unsettled condition of the kingdom and the insecurity for his life, Bēta Vijayāditya did not withdraw from the political scene. According to some scholars, Bēta wisely retired from Vēṅgī politics.⁹⁰ But this could not be true. He escaped from captivity and once again made his appearance in the period of the rule of his father's younger brother, Chālukya Bhīma II. In addition to Bēta, there were other claimants like Tāta Bikiya, Valadi, Muniriva, Rājamārtāṇḍa in opposition to Chālukya Bhīma II.⁹¹ Chālukya Bhīma II gathered his strength and suppressed his rival kinsmen and their Rāshtrakūṭa allies. Inscriptions mention that Chālukya Bhīma II killed many of them and drove Kanthika Vijayāditya again into exile in foreign countries.⁹² Only the Māṅgallu grant of Dānārṇava asserts that Chālukya Bhīma II killed all these enemies;⁹³ but the Malliyāmpūdi grant of Anna II specifies that Kanthika Vijayāditya was driven into exile.⁹⁴

Finally it appears that he returned to the country, tried once more⁹⁵ to claim the Vēṅgī throne on the death of Chālukya Bhīma II and opposed the accession of 12 year boy king, Anna II. But it seems, this time also, as on previous occasions, his attempts met with failure.

The history of the dynasty upto two centuries from the time of Bēta Vijayāditya is a blank. Except for the claim



of the later rulers that they descended from Bēta Vijayāditya, no connected history of this dynasty is possible to construct upto Satyāśraya.

SATYĀŚRAYA (A.D. 1078-1118)

Nothing is known about this family from Bētavijayāditya down to the period of Satyāśraya. It is not clear whether in the intervening period members of the family, if any, ruled a part of the country with a subordinate status or shared the duties of administration in the royal court. Satyāśraya entitled 'Uttamachālukya' of this line was the earliest known ruler. He issued no records and the date of his enthronement is not mentioned in any of the inscriptions of his successors. The only known fact about Satyāśraya is that his queen was Gaurī and that he had seven sons.⁹⁶ Gaurī was the princess of the Gaṅga family and might have been related to the Eastern Gaṅga king Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga of Kaṭiṅga (accession in A.D. 1078) as was suggested by Hutzsch.⁹⁷ By her he had seven sons - Vijayāditya I, Vimalāditya, Vikramāditya, Vishṇuwardhana, Mallapa, Kāma and Rājamārtāṇḍa. Veturi Prabhakarasastri and Kasibhatta Brahmamya Sastry⁹⁸ gave the list of these sons of Satyāśraya in a different way. According to them, the seven sons are - Trayivīra, Vijayāditya, Vimalāditya, Vikramāditya, Vishṇuwardhana, Trailōkyamalla and



Kāmarājamārtānda. In this list Trayivīra was added and stated to be the first son and the name of Rājamārtānda was attached to Kāma, the sixth son of the list in the inscriptions. M. Somasekharasarma and M.V.N. Adityasarma⁹⁹ also deemed Vīra as the first son of Satyāśraya. But that word 'vīra' may be considered as an honorific prefixed to the name of Vijayāditya. It should not be reckoned as the name of another son, but an adjective used to Vijayāditya as 'brave Vijayāditya'. The list of seven sons given in the inscriptions appears to be correct; and they are - Vijayāditya I, Vimalāditya, Vikramāditya, Vishnuvardhana, Mallapa, Kāma and Rājamārtānda. Satyāśraya seems to have ruled from A.D. 1078 to A.D. 1118.

One important fact stated in the records of these rulers is that Kulōttunga Chōla I was not only the ruler over Vēngī but one who succeeded also to the Chōla throne. His immediate successor Vikrama Chōla who had the surname 'Tyāgasamudra' is said to have gone to govern the Chōla country. With his departure to Chōlamāṇḍala, it is said the country of Vēngī became devoid of a ruler for sometime. From this, it might be inferred that the Vēngī country was till then under the direct suzerainty of the Chālukya-Chōla emperors, Kulōttunga I and Vikrama Chōla; but then afterwards either the deputies appointed by the Chōla kings or those who



appropriated that position for themselves ruled that country.¹⁰⁰

Thus the inscriptions of this family belong to a slightly later period (roughly sixty years) and mention the departure of Vikrama Chōla to the South which occurred in A.D. 1118. They mention that, after his departure to the South, the country (Vēngī) became leaderless and chaotic; and they narrate how in that period of struggle the Chālukyas of Jananāthapura snatched power. But contemporary inscriptions do not attest to this fact. Some scholars doubt¹⁰¹ the genuineness of the statement of Pithāpura pillar inscription and disagree with the statement that Vēngī became rulerless after the departure of Vikrama Chōla to the South. They argue that it was a period of rise of the Velanāṭi chiefs; and, with their capital at Chandōle, they ruled as subordinates and even as Viceroys of the Chālukya Chōlas. Thus the claim of this Chālukya branch to have succeeded Vikrama Chōla in Vēngī had no basis. The inscriptions of this branch keep silent regarding the rule of the Velanāṭi Chiefs in this area. They claimed their authority from Vikrama Chōla and did not mention the rule and authority of Velanāṭis who were the representatives of the Chālukya Chōlas. The rivalry between the Chālukyas of Jananāthapura and the Velanāṭi chiefs of



Chandōle might also account for the silence of this inscription about the Velanāṭis. The information about their rise to power is noted not only in the Pithāpuram pillar inscription, but in their other grants like the Edarupalli grant and the Madras Museum plates.

Though the Velanāṭi chiefs established their power even before the departure of Vikrama Chōla to the South, they came into prominence only after A.D. 1118. A number of inscriptions suggest that the Velanāṭi Chiefs became the Viceroys of Chālukya Chōlas and ruled over the Āndhra. Their subordination is also nominal as some of their inscriptions do not all mention the suzerainty of the Chālukya Chōlas. The frequent attacks of the Western Chālukyas on Vēṅgī encouraged the ambitions and desires of the hitherto subordinate minor families ruling in the Gōdāvarī tract to declare their independence. This is attested to by a number of inscriptions of this period found in this area. This facilitated the rise of the Chālukya family of Jananāthapura. In that period of anarchy, in that period of keen rivalry for power, in that period of every day warfare, the Chālukyas of Jananāthapura opened a new chapter in the history of Chālukyas as well as of the province by declaring their independence. They connected themselves with the Chālukya Chōlas, who until then



administered these areas. They recognised the suzerainty of Kulōttunga I upto the Viceroyalty of Vikramachōla. Thereafter, they began to give an account of their own dynastic history.

VIJAYĀDITYA I (A.D. 1118-1124)

Vijayāditya I was the son and successor of Satyāśraya. His wife was Vijayamahādevī, a princess of the Solar race probably of the Chōla lineage¹⁰² and by her he had three sons Vishṇuvardhana, Mallapadeva I and Sōmidēva.¹⁰³ M. Somasekharasarma, and M.V.N. Adityasarma introduced¹⁰⁴ one more by name 'Vira' giving him the second place and increased the number of sons to four. Their basis was probably their own demarcation of one king as Vira in the earlier generation, and there is no other warrant to justify the addition. That Vishṇuvardhana, Mallapadēva I, and Sōmidēva were his sons could be regarded as a certainty. He ruled from A.D. 1118 to A.D. 1124.

An incomplete inscription from Drākshārāma¹⁰⁵ dated in the second regnal year of Sarvalōkāśraya Vishṇuvardhana mentions Vijayāditya as an emperor for Vēṅgīmaṇḍala. In his camp from Niravadyavrōlu he declared the various rates of taxes and such other details to the people of Mallīśvara



Mahādēvapattana in the Vēṅgimaṇḍala. No doubt this Vijayāditya can be identified with the son and successor of Satyāśraya. As Vishṇuwardhana, the son and successor of Vijayāditya I, ruled the province around Rajahmundry¹⁰⁶ from A.D. 1124, it is not improbable to identify this Vijayāditya I with his namesake in the Drākshārāma inscription.

When Tyāgasamudra alias Vikramachōla had gone to the Chōla country, the country of Vēṅgī became devoid of ruler in this interval. His departure from Vēṅgī brought a terrible disaster upon the country in the shape of an invasion of Western Chālukyas. Even though the unpreparedness of the country was taken advantage of by Tribhuvanamalla to conquer the Vēṅgī country, the subjugation of the country was not so easily accomplished. Several powerful feudatories and military Chieftains of the area disputed the sovereignty of the Western Chālukyas and carried on the struggle on behalf of Vikrama Chōla. As the inscriptions of this line of rulers mention the departure of Tyāgasamudra to the South earlier than the beginning of this rule, it is true to say that they also supported the cause of Vikramachōla; and their relations with Chālukya Chōlas were cordial. Vijayāditya with his capital at Rājamahēndravara, opposed the Western Chālukya forces as a faithful subordinate of Vikramachōla,



though he did not accept the leadership of Velanāṭi Goṅka. V. Yasodadevi opined¹⁰⁷ that he probably accepted the suzerainty of Velanāṭi Chōlas. Owing to the unsettled political condition of the country, it became necessary for him to announce the various rates of land revenue in some provinces like Mallīśvaramahādēvapattana of Vēṅgimandala.

VISHNUVARDHANA (A.D. 1124 -1131)

The next ruler of this dynasty was Vishṇuwardhana. Though scholars differed¹⁰⁸ in identifying this Vishṇuwardhana, it appears reasonable to identify him as Vishṇuwardhana, the son of Vijayāditya I. He ruled from A.D. 1124-25 to A.D. 1131.

At Drākshārāma, six inscriptions of the harem of Ananta-varman Chōḍagaṅga and three inscriptions of the other Chieftains refer to this Vishṇuwardhana in their inscriptions while making their offerings of lamps of God Bhīmēśvara.

The queens of the Eastern Gaṅga emperor Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, were Rājāladēvī,¹⁰⁹ Padmāladēvī,¹¹⁰ Śrīyādēvī,¹¹¹ Līlāvatīdēvī,¹¹² Kalyāṇadēvī,¹¹³ Lakshmīdēvī,¹¹⁴ the mother of queen Līlāvatīdēvī, also figures among the devotees. All these inscriptions were issued in the 'Simhamāsa' of A.D. 1128; and in the third regnal year of Sarvalōkāśraya Vishṇuwardhana.¹¹⁵

Nookenapreggaḍa, son of Krovviṇṭi Mēḍaya, the minister of



the king of Malayamaṇḍala¹¹⁶ mentions his offering of a lamp to God Bhīmēśa in A.D. 1128. Bhīmināyaka, the brother of māṇḍalika Boddināyaka, offered¹¹⁷ four lamps to God Bhīmēśa in A.D. 1128-29. In the very same year Sūraparāju entitled 'Chāḷukyasamuddharaṇa' the ruler of Malayamaṇḍala of Vēṅgīnāḍu, visited Drāksharāma and offered a lamp.¹¹⁸ These three offerings were given on the occasion of Uttarāyana Sankrānti and the inscriptions also acknowledged Sarvalōkāśraya Viṣṇuvardhana as the ruler, which goes to point to A.D. 1124-25 as the initial year of his reign. Another inscription¹¹⁹ dated in A.D. 1128 refers to Viṣṇuvardhana as king on that date.

An inscription at Juttiga,¹²⁰ dated in the 15th year of Viṣṇuvardhana (A.D. 1141) mentions, the offering of lamp to God Vāsukiravi Sōmēśvaramahādēva. Two other inscriptions¹²¹ of the same place mention the 17th regnal year of Viṣṇuvardhana without any Śaka date. N. Lakshminarayan Rao of the Epigraphy Department suggested¹²² that this Viṣṇuvardhana was the Chāḷukya Chōḷa king Kulōttunga Chōḷa II. But it would be better to identify him with the Viṣṇuvardhana of the Jananāthapura branch; because these two inscriptions were stated to have been issued on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on Saturday of Śrāvaṇa. There was a lunar eclipse on Saturday, August 8 of A.D. 1142. Then the initial year of the



reign of this Vishṇuvardhana should be fixed in A.D. 1124-25; and this date eminently fits the Vishṇuvardhana of the Jananāthapura branch. So there is no difficulty in taking these two inscriptions at Juttiga as belonging to the period of Vishṇuvardhana son of Vijayāditya I. Sewell also identified¹²³ this ruler with the Vishṇuvardhana of the Jananāthapura branch of the Chālukyas.

Two incomplete inscriptions¹²⁴ dated in the 25th and 26th regnal years of Sarvalōkāśraya Vishṇuvardhana were found at Bhīmavaram. If the king mentioned herein were the same as the king of the above Juttiga inscriptions, as N. Lakshminarayan Rao opined,¹²⁵ the equivalent date would be A.D. 1130 and A.D. 1131. There is no difficulty in identifying this king with the Vishṇuvardhana of Jananāthapura branch who came to the throne in A.D. 1124-25.

Again, at Rajahmundry there is a record¹²⁶ of Sarvalōkāśraya Vishṇuvardhana dated in the 21st (?) regnal year of the king and A.D. 1145. This relates to an offering of cows (so as to keep alit a lamp) by a certain Prōliśeṭṭi, son of Mādiśeṭṭi of Penugonḍa, to the temple of Vīrabhadreśvaramahādeva of Paṭṭisam. This indicates roughly A.D. 1124 as the date of accession of king Vishṇuvardhana. Sewell noted¹²⁷ that the rule of the Piṭhāpura Chief Vishṇuvardhana in the Gōdāvarī area



in his 21st year corresponded to A.D. 1145. Krishnasastri also thinks¹²⁸ that as this king's name is not found in the usual lists, he was probably an ancestor of Mallapa IV of the Pithāpuram Chālukya branch. All these support the attribution of this inscription to the period of Vishnuvardhana.

Thus altogether ten inscriptions from Drākshārāma, three inscriptions from Juttiga, two inscriptions from Bhīmavaram and one inscription from Rajamundry mention the rule of this Vishnuvardhana, the son and successor of Vijayāditya I.¹²⁹

From these inscriptions, some new facts came to light about the status of the family and the extent of the kingdom. Vijayāditya I in his camp from Niravadyavōlu declared¹³⁰ various rates of taxation and such other details, to the people of Mallīśvaramahādēvapattana in the Vēngimaṇḍala. In that inscription, it is stated that that order was given with the impress of royal authority. Being a newly occupied area, its political condition was uncertain and it became necessary for him to declare the various rates of land revenue. Thus in his period he extended his kingdom from Rajamundry to Drākshārāma by occupying the towns like Niravadyavrōlu and Mallīśvaramahādēvapattana. But owing to the short period of his rule, his hold in that area appears doubtful; and no further inscriptions are found in these annexed areas. It is



during the period of this Vishṇuwardhana that all these areas were brought under their firm control; and they became part and parcel of the kingdom as known from the huge number of inscriptions from Juttiga, Bhīmavaram and Drākshārāma. Another important thing to be noted in the reign of Vishṇuwardhana is the acknowledgement made in the inscriptions of the harem of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga about his authority over the locality. The Chief queens of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga visited the Bhīmēśvara temple of Drākshārāma in A.D. 1128, and in their records they mentioned the early regnal years of this Vishṇuwardhana, a local Chief with a limited authority. The exact meaning and purpose of the sojourn of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga to the East Godāvari region are unknown. If it is an expedition by Chōḍa Gaṅgadēva aimed at grabbing fragments of the disrupted Vēṅgi Chālukya empire, it should have been stated so in his inscriptions. But this was done nowhere in his inscriptions. Contrary to this, his own queens mentioned this Chālukya prince Vishṇuwardhana as the ruler. Again, no contemporary inscription of any subordinate ruler of this province acknowledge this Gaṅga emperor as his overlord. Hence this visit to Drākshārāma must be treated as a pilgrimage to the famous Śaivaite centre in coastal Āndhra, but not as a military campaign. Or otherwise he might have come with a view to helping his relative Vishṇuwardhana in



settling his disputes with neighbouring powers and the Western Chālukyas. As Gaurī, the grand-mother of Vishṇuvardhana happened to be a princess of the Gaṅga family and might have been related to Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, it is not improbable that his visit was meant to be a check on the activities of the enemies of Vishṇuvardhana. An inscription¹³¹ dated A.D. 1126 from Nārāyaṇapuram of Bobbili Taluc of Vizianagaram district registers an offering made for the success of the king's arms. As the date of the inscription falls in the reign of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, the king referred to therein was in all likelihood Chōḍagaṅga himself, who must have tried to help this Chālukya Vishṇuvardhana. The fact that Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga accepted the sway and authority of Vishṇuvardhana in the areas of the East Godavari district is a positive proof of the growing power of the Chālukyas of Jananāthapura.

There is another achievement to the credit of this branch that explains the rise in its status as well as prominence in contemporary politics. Malayamaṇḍala, the present hill-tract of the East Godavari district was subjugated in the early years of the reign of Vishṇuvardhana. Sūraparāja, the Chief of Malayamaṇḍala which was attached to Veṅgiṇāḍu acknowledged Sarvalōkāśraya Vishṇuvardhana as his lord in his inscription dated A.D. 1128-1129 at Drākshārāma.¹³²



Sūraparāja bore the titles Malaya-maṇḍala chief, Chālukya-Nārāyaṇa, and Chālukyasamuddharaṇa. In another inscription¹³³ dated A.D. 1128 at the same place, the minister of the Malaya king offered his gift of lamp to the God Bhīmēśvara acknowledging Vishṇuvardhana's authority. The Malaya Chief must have helped Vishṇuvardhana, probably as his loyal vassal, in his military exploits. His subordination to the Chālukyas is further confirmed by the evidence of the later-day records like the Madras Museum plates, issued by Mahādēva, one of his successors.

In another inscription from Drākshārāma¹³⁴ dated A.D. 1129, Bhīmināyaka, brother of Maṇḍalika Boddināyaka, who was styled as the ruler of Kāñchīpura and descendant of Kādvettikula also acknowledged the authority of king Sarvalōkāśraya Vishṇuvardhana. Judging from these inscriptions, Chālukya Vishṇuvardhana appears to have conquered all the enemies including the Western Chālukya generals, who occupied the north-eastern parts of the Godavari district, and established his sway over that region. In achieving this object, it seems likely that Vishṇuvardhana was helped by the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kalinga¹³⁵ and the surrounding Maṇḍalikas like the Sūryavamśis of the Malayāvanī.

V. Yasodadevi thought¹³⁶ that it likely that this Vishṇuvardhana owed allegiance to the Chālukya Chōlas and



helped Goṅka II of the Velanāḍus in terminating the Western Chālukya rule in Vēṅgī between A.D. 1127 and A.D. 1139. Vishṇuvardhana might have helped the Chālukya Chōḷas and the Velanāṭis in expelling the Western Chālukya forces from this area, as it was the common interest of all these local powers. But to conclude from this that he owed allegiance to Velanāṭi Chōḷas is not warranted. As the Chālukyas of Jananāthapura and the Velanāḍus claimed to be the successors of Chālukya Chōḷas in these areas, there is no possibility of this Chālukya branch owing allegiance to them. Moreover, this Jananāthapura branch gained the support of the surrounding māṇḍalīkas as well as the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kāṭiṅga to establish and strengthen their position in Coastal Āndhra. Thus Vishṇuvardhana consolidated all the areas which his father conquered, and established a firm control over them by subduing their rulers and reducing them to the subordinate status. He was an astute ruler that played an effective role according to the dictates of contemporary political conditions.

An inscription¹³⁷ from Nandalūr (Cuddapah district) refers to one Vishṇuvardhana in A.D. 1125, the eighth regnal year of the Chālukya Chōḷa monarch, Vikrama Chōḷa. This was issued for the success of the king's arms. This shows that Vikrama Chōḷa was involved in war probably with his hostile Western Chālukyas. He must have tried to regain the occupied



provinces in Southern Vēṅgī. It is not known how far he succeeded in his attempt. An inscription at Tripurāntakam¹³⁸ in the Prakasam district states that the Western Chāḷukya officer Gōvīndarasa burnt Vēṅgī and defeated Goṅka II at Jananāthapura. But it was not the final result of the conflict. Vikrama Chōḷa succeeded in liberating certain parts, for some of his inscriptions¹³⁹ are found at places like Chēbrōlu in A.D. 1127, dated in his ninth regnal year. By these evidences it can be said that the Western Chāḷukyas were at least temporarily driven out, not only from the Northern but also from the Southern parts of Vēṅgī. As Viṣṇuvardhana ruled the region north of Vēṅgī with capital at Rājamahēndravara without acknowledging the Chāḷukya Chōḷa suzerainty, that province did not however come under the rule of Vikrama Chōḷa. All the chiefs in different localities around Vēṅgī, at once took advantage of the confusion caused by the death of the Western Chāḷukya monarch, Vikramāditya VI, to free their native lands from the Western Chāḷukya yoke.

Even then, the Western Chāḷukya power was not so completely eclipsed in Vēṅgī. The Western Chāḷukya monarch Bhūlōkamalla Sōmēśvara III, who succeeded Vikramāditya VI, was aware of the political unrest in the country and made supreme effort once again to bring the whole of Vēṅgī under his domination. He



re-established his authority over Vengi as is known from his inscription at Gūḍūr dated A.D. 1131-32.¹⁴⁰ There is no clear evidence to know the reaction of Vishṇuvardhana in this critical situation. Shrewd ruler that he was, he might have changed his policy and owed temporised with the Western Chāḷukyas.

But Vēṅgī did not remain for long a Western Chāḷukya dependency. A record of the Velanāṭis dated A.D. 1135 attributes success to them in liberating the country from the Western Chāḷukyas. It is said that the Velanāṭi Chief Goṅka II defeated the lords of Kārṇāṭa, Mahārāshṭra and Lāṭa in the battle of the Gōḍāvarī and pillaged their gold, camels and horses. Since the Velanāṭis claim that they defeated also the lord of the Gauda, i.e. the Eastern Gaṅga monarch of Kāḷiṅga of that time, it seems likely that the Gaṅga ruler supported the Western Chāḷukyas. But by the end of A.D. 1135, the Western Chāḷukya domination was checked by the Velanāṭis and the refractory chiefs were put to vassalage. Vishṇuvardhana of the Chāḷukya branch could not be an exception; but nowhere in his inscriptions did he acknowledge the overlordship of Velanāṭis or the Chāḷukya-Chōḷas. Probably at this stage it became necessary for him to change his capital from Rajāmahēndravara to Jananāthapura.¹⁴¹ Thus the last days of Vishṇuvardhana ended in obscurity.



MALLAPA - I (A.D. 1151-1158)

After the rule of Vishnuvardhana, Mallapa I came to the throne. Basing on the Madras Museum plates, Sewell¹⁴² and Fleet¹⁴³ wrongly regarded Mallapa I as the son of Vishnuvardhana. Sewell states that the portion of the plate dealing with genealogy was damaged and the connection between this prince and his ancestor was lost. Veturi Prabhakara Sastry and Kasibhatta Brahmamaya Sastry,¹⁴⁴ also considered Mallapa I as a son of Vishnuvardhana. But Edarunalli re-issued grant and the Pithapuram pillar inscription clearly state that Mallapa I was the brother of Vishnuvardhana.

Only one inscription from Juttiga dated A.D. 1151 makes mention of Mallapa I. No details of his reign are mentioned in that record. He came to the throne at a difficult time and had to adjust to the consequences caused by the political turmoil in that period. He has to strengthen his position as a king at Jananāthapura. To gain this objective, it seems, he maintained cordial relations with all the neighbouring powers and tried to make his position secure. The Haihaya prince Brahmanamahārāja, the ruler of Sāgara-Vishaya (identified with modern Saugar in the Central Provinces), who might have been related to the Haihayas of Kōnamāṇḍala, gave his daughter, Chandāladēvī, in marriage to Mallapa I. Mallapa's subordination to Velanāṭi Chōlas is disclosed in an inscription of Kulōttunga Rājendra Chōla II¹⁴⁵ which mentions¹⁴⁶ his offering



of village Chōḍavaram to God Bhīmēśvara of Drākshārāma. Chōḍavaram was obviously a village in the country ruled by Mallapa I, and Kulōttunga Chōḷa's gift of it indirectly hints at his subordination to Velanāṭi Chōḷas.

The other details of the reign of Mallapa I are not known. His queen Chandālādēvi is described as a charming, clever, accomplished, auspicious, noble, faithful, intelligent virtuous and lucky lady. She begot him a son named Vijayāditya II who was likened to Raghu of the Solar race.

Sōmidēva, the younger brother of Mallapa I is referred to in the records of his successors, but there are no records of his own. This makes his political career obscure. But recently an inscription of the 12th Century¹⁴⁷ of Sōmēśvara, son of Vishṇuvardhana Vijayāditya recording a gift of sheep for the maintenance of an ever-lit lamp to the deity Kūrmanātha is found at Śrīkūrmam. The proximity of the time and the mention of the father's name make it possible to identify the Sōmēśvara of that record with Sōmidēva of this Chāḷukya branch. But no other details are known about him.

Mallapa I ruled for a short period from A.D. 1151 to A.D. 1158, the last being the date of coronation of his son and successor Vijayāditya II.



VIJAYĀDITYA - II (A.D. 1158-1173)

Mallapa I was succeeded by his son Vijayāditya II. It is stated that he was born after many prayers of the king, and his birth is compared to that of Raghu to Dilīpa. Though none of his own records is found, he is described in the inscriptions of his successors as the ruler of Vēngī and a virtuous and daring king. He was the first ruler of this branch to bear the epithet 'the ruler of Vēngī'. This shows the inherent desire of the chiefs to rule the entire Vēngī country. It is worth noticing in this context that only in the records of the sons of Vijayāditya II, the relationship of this family with Bēta Vijayāditya is mentioned for the first time. As real heirs to that Vēngī Chālukya throne they mentioned their connections with the Vēngī throne from this period only.

Some scholars like V. Yasodadevi,¹⁴⁸ M. Somasekhara Sarma and M.V.N. Adityasarma¹⁴⁹ assigned some of the inscriptions of Viranarēndra and Vishṇuvardhana Mallapa II, to the period of Vijayāditya II. This forced these scholars to extend the period of rule of Vijayāditya II. M. Rama Rao¹⁵⁰ took A.D. 1158 as the date of coronation of Vijayāditya II. Though Sewell and V. Yasodadevi accepted the initial year of this king as A.D. 1158, they continued his rule upto A.D. 1202, the date of coronation of Mallapa III, this extension



does not appear justifiable. He must have ruled from A.D. 1158 to A.D. 1173.

Vijayāditya II had two queens Lakshmīdēvi and Gaṅgāmbā. Lakshmīdēvi bore him two sons Vishṇuvardhana Mallapa II and Vīranarēndra. Gaṅgāmbā bore him one son Vishṇuvardhana Mallapa III. The Eḍarupalli re-issued grant¹⁵¹ and the Madras Museum plates¹⁵² state that his queen Lakshmīdēvi was the daughter of Pulikēśi, king of Mārjuvāḍi or Mārājavāḍi in the Kurnool district, and praise her good qualities and compare her to Lakshmī, Vāṇī, Sītā, Śachīdēvi, Ratī and Gaurī. The Viṭhāpuram epigraph¹⁵³ mentions his other queen Gaṅgāmbā, the daughter of the ruler of Arāḍavāḍa.¹⁵⁴

The other details of his reign are not known. Probably the political disturbances of the period affected his rule and he might have opposed all those challenges with the help of his father-in-law, Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Pulakēśirāja and other subordinates like the Malaya chiefs. With a view to protecting their own interests they might have fought on the side of the Western Chāḷukyas and prevented the domination of Velanāṭi chiefs and their confederates. But all those attempts yielded no good results; and an inscription¹⁵⁵ at Chēbrōlu dated A.D. 1167-68, states, in unequivocal terms, that Velanāṭi Goṅka II vanquished the lords of Marāṭa, Karnāṭa,



Lāṭa, Kuṇṭala, Āndhra, Kaṭaka and Trikaṭiṅga, and acquired the rulership of the Āndhra country with the insignia of supreme sovereignty. The genuineness of this claim is open to doubt. The lords of Kaṇṇāṭa, Marāṭa, Lāṭa and others were the subordinates of the lord of Kuṇṭala, i.e. the Western Chāḷukya monarch Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI and later of his son Bhūlōkamalla Sōmēśvara III. The ruler of the Āndhra country was perhaps this Chāḷukya prince Vijayāditya II of Jananāthapura, who is trying to restore his dynastic power and prestige in the rule of Telugunāḍu. B.V. Krishna Rao thought¹⁵⁶ that after the death of his powerful supporters like Pulikēśi of Mārjuvādi¹⁵⁷, Vijayāditya II was harassed by the Velanāṭi chiefs and this forced him to seek compromise with them. Whatever the conditions of the alliance, it seems doubtless that he accepted the suzerainty of the Velanāṭis and in the rest of his period he never rebelled. After his death in A.D. 1173, his son Mallapa II succeeded to the throne.

VISHNUVARDHANA MALLAPA II AND VĪRANARENDRA

(A.D. 1173-1205)

Vishnuvardhana Mallapa II ascended the throne after Vijayāditya II in A.D. 1173 and ruled for 32 years i.e. upto A.D. 1205. As stated already, there was some confusion



among scholars leading to mistaking Mallapa II with his namesake Mallapa III. But at the present state of our knowledge, it is clear that there are two Mallapas with two different dates. Mallapa II, the prince born to queen Lakshmidēvi, first succeeded to the throne.

As stated already two copper-plate grants and a set of stone records belong to his reign. The copper-plate records - the Edarupalli grant¹⁵⁸ and the Madras Museum plates¹⁵⁹ describe at length the genealogy of this family. The Edarupalli grant was not an original grant but a renewal of an old grant. This grant was first made once upon a time by a Pallava king Mukkanti Kādvetti, in Guddavādi-Vishaya on a solar eclipse day to six Brāhmana scholars who were masters in various subjects. In due course of time that copper-plate grant decayed or was mutilated and at the request of the descendants of those donees it was re-issued by this Chālukya prince, Mallapa II, in A.D. 1179. The other copper-plate grant, i.e. the Madras Museum plates, belongs to a Chief of the Solar race, Mahādēva of Malayāvani, a subordinate of Mallapa II. While mentioning a grant of Village Chandravūri in Chengūrunānti-Vishaya in A.D. 1205, the record traces the genealogy of the Chālukya family beginning from Bēta Vijayāditya to this Vishṇuvardhana Mallapa II, whose supremacy this chief Mahādēva acknowledged.¹⁶⁰



Regarding the stone inscriptions of the king, only eight are available. Of these, five are located in the temple of Rājanārāyaṇa at Chālukya Bhīmavaram,¹⁶¹ two in the Bhīmēśvara temple of Drākshārāma¹⁶² and one in the Vāsukiravi Sōmēśvara temple at Juttiga.¹⁶³ The Bhīmavaram inscriptions do not yield any new information. Only the regnal dates of the king are given in addition to the mention of the usual offerings to the temple. The Juttiga and Drākshārāma inscriptions suggest his overlordship over other families like the Chālukya family at Nidadavōlu. In one of the Drākshārāma records,¹⁶⁴ the minister of Vēṅgī Goṅka, the Chālukya king of the Nidadavōlu branch, acknowledged the overlordship of Vishnuvardhana Mallapa. Thus from these inscriptions it is known that Mallapa II exercised suzerainty over the subordinate families like the Malaya chiefs and the Chālukyas of Nidadavōlu. These inscriptions provide positive evidence of the rising power of the kingdom and of the capacity of this Chālukya prince to respond to all the situations amidst the political unrest of the period.¹⁶⁵

Three inscriptions, two at Drākshārāma¹⁶⁶ and one at Chālukya Bhīmavaram, belonging to the early years of the reign of Mallapa II, mention Vīranarēndra, the second son of Vijayāditya and Lakshmīdēvī and the brother of Mallapa II. M. Somasekhara Sarma and A.V.N. Aditya Sarma¹⁶⁸ opined that



this ~~Vira~~ ^{Vīra} Vīranarēndra was a ruler in the Nidadavōlu Chālukya family. It could not be so. His father Vijayāditya belong to the Jananāthapura branch, and hence his place in this family is beyond question. He is in no way connected with Nidadavōlu branch. Vīranarēndra bore the epithet Sarvalōkāśraya Vishṇuvarḍhana. His rule seems to have lasted for three years from A.D. 1176-1177 to 1179. But in the same places and during the same years there are inscriptions mentioning Mallapa II as the suzerain. Renewal of the old grants like the Edarupalli plates were also made by Mallapa II, and this proves without question his ruling authority. How then could both these brothers be treated as rulers at the same time in the same vicinity? It might be suggested that both these brothers were conjoint rulers. Probably, Vīranarēndra lived for a short period. His name is not mentioned in the records of Mallapa II; no records of Vīranarēndra are available after A.D. 1179. The three-year rule of Vīranarēndra had in no way effected the rule of Mallapa II. As the political life of Vīranarēndra falls within the regnal period of Mallapa II and has no particular significance of its own, it may be presumed that he was allowed the status of a conjoint ruler by his elder brother during that brief spell.

In the Jananāthapura dynastic history Vishṇuvarḍhana Mallapa II occupies an important place like Vishṇuvarḍhana,



the elder brother of his grand father. He tried hard to re-establish the prestige of his family and to regain authority with the help of his subordinates and relatives. It has been already pointed out that his father Vijayāditya II, accepted the authority of the Velanāṭi chiefs, though he did not acknowledge it in his records. This suzerainty of the Velanāḍus, though nominal, was not tolerated by Mallapa II.

Along with rulers like Harihayaś of Palnāḍu, Kōṭa chiefs of Dharnikōṭa, Telugu Chōḍas of Pākanāḍu and Durjayas of Natavāḍi, this Chālukya prince Mallapa exploited this opportunity, defied the sovereign authority of Velanāḍus and declared himself openly as an independent chief. It is suggested¹⁶⁹ that he might have requested the help of Kākati Rudradēva, who was the bitter enemy of the Velanāṭis, in this revolt. No doubt, one Kākatiya inscription¹⁷⁰ dated A.D. 1185-86 at Drākshārāma refers to Vishṇuvardhana. But there is no evidence to say that Rudradēva came actually to help Vishṇuvardhana Mallapa. Moreover, while referring to Vishṇuvardhana, Kākati Rudra acknowledged that A.D. 1186 was the former's fifth victorious regnal year. From this, the date of coronation of Vishṇuvardhana must be dated as A.D. 1181. But such fixation is quite contrary to the details known from all other records. There is no mention of



Vishnuvardhana whose date of coronation falls in A.D. 1181, in any other record except this inscription. Therefore, it does not seem to be correct to suggest that he sought Kākatiya help. The chiefs of Malayāvani who claimed Solar descent and the Chālukya family of Nidadavōlu accepted Mallapa's suzerainty. A major portion of the present East Godavari district was under his occupation. He successfully ruled the kingdom for thirty-two years, i.e. from A.D. 1173 to 1205, with Jananāthapura as the capital.

Though the rule of Vishnuvardhana Mallapa II continued till A.D. 1205, it seems that his authority was challenged in the second half of his reign, by the princes within his own family fold at least in some portions of his kingdom. In support of this is cited an inscription from Sarpavaram¹⁷¹ which mentions grants to God Bhāvanārāyaṇa on the occasion of a Solar eclipse, and refers to the year Ś.1123 and the 9th regnal year of a king named Vishnuvardhana. It leads to the date of his accession in A.D.1193-94. No other details of him are given except this date and his name as Vishnuvardhana. Even though there are ten more inscriptions of Vishnuvardhana at Sarpavaram, they are dated in the regnal years of the king and do not bear Śaka dates. Again there is no certainty that all these regnal years belong to only one ruler by name



Vishṇuvardhana or more of them with the same name.¹⁷²

As there is no Chālukya prince hitherto known with regnal date A.D. 1193-94 in these areas, it is supposed that he was a separate ruler, whose authority was probably limited to the area around Sarpavaram in the last decade of the 12th Century. The Government Epigraphist, doubted whether the Vishṇuvardhana of this inscription could be identical with Vishṇuvardhana Mallapa II.¹⁷³ Sewell and V. Yasodadevi,¹⁷⁴ also considered this inscription as belonging to Vishṇuvardhana Mallapa III, issued prior to his coronation in A.D. 1200. But it does not carry conviction. An overall study of the various inscriptions issued by the kings of this family and their respective chronology suggest that Vishṇuvardhana of Sarpavaram was a separate chief, who probably had some connection with the Chālukya family of Jananāthapura. He might have held sway over the Sarpavaram area when Vishṇuvardhana Mallapa II was involved in frequent struggles with the Velanāṭi chiefs and other rival powers. How long the rule of this Vishṇuvardhana of Sarpavaram continued was uncertain. His Sarpavaram record is dated in A.D. 1201, in his 9th regnal year. After that date probably he lost the kingdom for Mallapa III, who celebrated his coronation in A.D. 1202, in the Kuntī Mādhava Svāmi temple at Piṭhāpuram.



VISHNUVARDHANA MALLAPA III (A.D. 1202-1241)

Vishnuvardhana Mallapa III, the son of Vijayāditya II by queen Gaṅgāmbā, ascended the throne in A.D. 1202. It seems that he tried hard to occupy the throne of Jananāthapura even during the reign of his step-brother Mallapadēva II. But he could succeed to the throne only after Mallapa II. Rājaparamēśvara, Mahārāja, Sarvalōkāśraya, Gonagachakravarti and Vishnuvardhana are his titles. The Pithāpuram pillar inscription¹⁷⁵ states that Mallapa III was anointed and crowned at Pithāpuram in the presence of God Kuntī Mādhava Svāmī in the Śaka year 1124, the dark fortnight of Jyēsthā, on the 10th tithi on Sunday during the great auspicious Simhā lagna under the asterism Aśvini, i.e. on 16th June, A.D. 1202. Though the celebration of coronations in temples instead of in their capitals is not uncommon, the continuance of the rule of the previous ruler Mallapa II till A.D. 1205 in the capital Jananāthapura creates the impression that this Mallapa III of Pithāpuram inscription might have under his occupation only a portion of the Prōlunādu tract which comprises some taluqs in the present East Godavari district. Lack of any reference to or acknowledgement of the authority of his step-brother Mallapa II in this Pithāpuram inscription,¹⁷⁶ which gives the entire genealogy of this family, leads to the inference that their relations were hostile. As Mallapa II



ruled till A.D. 1205 and Mallapa III's coronation was celebrated in A.D. 1202, it has been suggested that the succession did not take place in the natural course. Even though Mallapa III's coronation took place at Piṭhāpuram there is no certainty that he made it his capital. Because he wished to celebrate his coronation only in the presence of God Kuntī Mādhava, he might have gone through it at Piṭhāpuram. But a number of scholars from Hultzsch to V. Yasodadevi, were led astray in concluding that Piṭhāpuram was their capital from the beginning of this dynasty from Bēta Vijayāditya and in captioning this line of rulers as 'The Chālukyas of Piṭhāpuram'. Basing on the Piṭhāpuram pillar inscription of Mallapa III which gave the entire genealogy and which was the first published inscription of this family, the above scholars might have given them such caption. But Piṭhāpuram was never the capital of the descendants of Bētavijayāditya. Occasionally they might have occupied that town, just like any other important town in their area of rule; but it never meant that that town was their capital.

If it were the capital, why was it that none of the inscriptions of the earlier rulers, who were numerous, mentioned it? The re-issued copper-plate grant of Eḍarupalli¹⁷⁷ confirms that their capital was Jananāthapura,¹⁷⁸ which was identified



by scholars like M. Somasekhara Sarma and N. Ramesan with the present Drākshārāma.¹⁷⁹ K.A. Nilakanta Sastri identified it with Bezwada.¹⁸⁰ The identity of Drākshārāma and Jananāthapura lands us in a number of difficulties. Hundreds of inscriptions from Drākshārāma and literary works like the Bhimēśvarapurāṇa by Śrīnātha state the variant forms of Drākshārāma as Dākārēmi, Pedadākārēmi, Dakshatapōvana etc. and nowhere do they mention Jananāthapura among them. Neither the records of this family nor the inscriptions dated in their regnal years issued at Drākshārāma (which were sixteen in number) stated its name as Jananāthapura. Hence it is not possible to accept Drākshārāma as Jananāthapura. Moreover, the huge number of inscriptions of various dynasties found at Drākshārāma give scope to consider it as a celebrated religious centre but not as a capital for any ruling family. With the available evidence it is not possible to identify Jananāthapura. It can only be said that its location is somewhere in the East Godavari district. The respective names of the villages in that district do not help in identifying Jananāthapura with any of them. Recently S. Lakshminarasimha Rao¹⁸¹ tried to identify Jananāthapura with the present Jagannāthapuram near Niḍadavōlu in the West Godavari district.

Hence though the early writers named this branch of rulers as the Chālukyas of Piṭhāpuram, they can be better



termed as the Chālukyas of Jananāthapura, even though the town cannot be easily identified at present. No doubt Mallapa III was crowned in A.D. 1202 at Piṭhāpuram. It could be safely assumed that he might have made Piṭhāpuram his Centre of activity until A.D. 1205, and that in that year he might have occupied the kingdom of Jananāthapura as it was the last year of rule of his predecessor Mallapa II.

Only five inscriptions of the period of Mallapa III are available. Of them only one inscription is located in the Kuntī Mādhava temple at Piṭhāpuram; and two inscriptions are located in each of the temples of Bhīmavaram and Drākshārāma. His Piṭhāpuram pillar inscription¹⁸² describes at length the genealogy of the family and mentions that king Mallapa granted the village of Guḍivāḍa, in the Prōḷunādu, as offering to the temple of Kuntī Mādhava on the occasion of his anointment as king i.e. in A.D. 1200. One of his Bhīmavaram inscriptions,¹⁸³ which is incomplete and undated, mentions his prāśasti. It describes the birth of Mallapa to queen Gaṅgāmba as similar to that of Bhīshma to the divine river Gaṅgā. An inscription from Drākshārāma,¹⁸⁴ which is also incomplete, was dated in A.D. 1218. Another inscription of his from Drākshārāma,¹⁸⁵ dated in A.D. 1234, mentions his name as Goṇaganṛipa. Basing on the date of



the record and on the identity of his mother's name, Sewell¹⁸⁶ and V. Yasodadevi¹⁸⁷ identified this Goṇaga with Mallapa. Lastly another inscription of his from Bhīmavaram¹⁸⁸ refers to his 39th regnal year.

Mallapa III was an important personality among the later rulers of this family. He revolted against his step-brother Mallapa II and gradually took over the kingdom. He checked the authority of Vishnuvardhana of Sarpavaram and put an end to his rule. After stabilizing his position within the country, he extended his borders towards west and occupied some portions in Pāvunavāra-Vishaya which comprises the Eastern taluqs of the present West Godavari district.

As an enlightened monarch he ruled from A.D. 1202 upto A.D. 1241, and after his no ruler of this dynasty, was known to be prominent.

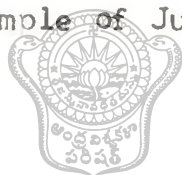
THE DECLINE OF THE FAMILY (A.D. 1241-1255)

What actually happened in the last period of the rule of Mallapa III is not known. Though it is true that he ruled upto his 39th regnal year¹⁸⁹ (A.D. 1241), available sources do not yield any additional information to clarify specifically the last phase of this family. But it seems



that his sons Udayachandradēva and Chandrasēkharadēva helped him in the administration of the country. Udayachandra was a conjoint ruler from A.D. 1223, for, an inscription of his on that date from Bhīmavaram¹⁹⁰ mentions him as Vishṇuvardhana mahārāja entitled Sarvalōkāśraya. Another inscription of his from Drākshārāma¹⁹¹ dated in A.D. 1225 mentions him as the son of Goṇaga Chakravartī and grandson of Gaṅgāmba. We may state that Udayachandra had a brief rule of two years and in A.D. 1225, he was succeeded by Chandrasēkhara Chakravartī.

The relationship of Chandrasēkharadēva entitled Vishṇuvardhana to his predecessor Udayachandra or any of his connections with the rest of the family are not known. But V. Yasodadevi identified¹⁹² him as the younger brother of Udayachandra. In the absence of evidence to the contrary this suggestion may be accepted. The only supplementary evidence for this assumption is the immediate succession of Chandrasēkhara to Udayachandra. An incomplete inscription dated A.D. 1226 from Drākshārāma¹⁹³ mentions the name of his minister as Purushōttamanāyaka. Another inscription from the same place¹⁹⁴ dated in A.D. 1229 refers to his fourth regnal year. An incomplete inscription from Juttiga¹⁹⁵ refers to this Vishṇuvardhana's 13th regnal year. It states that he erected a mantapa named Karavāla Bhairava maṇṭapa in front of the Sōmēśvara temple of Juttiga. Another inscription



at Juttiga dated¹⁹⁶ A.D. 1255 was issued by Mahādēva of the Chālukya family of Nidadavōlu invoking the name of King Vishṇuvardhana. This evidently shows the continuing subordination of that family to the Chālukyas of Jananāthapura. It is inexplicable why the Chālukya family at Nidadavōlu did not rebel against these rulers of Jananāthapura even at this stage of the decline of their power. The inscription of Juttiga¹⁹⁷ dated in his 13th regnal year shows that Chandraśekhara was enjoying an almost independent status; and this date falls in the reign of Mallapa III (who ruled upto A.D. 1241). It is reasonable therefore to think that Chandraśekhara was a conjoint ruler with Mallapa III after the death of Udayachandra, though his relationship with Mallapa III is not known. The last reference to him is found in an inscription from Āchaṇṭa¹⁹⁸ dated in A.D. 1255. It speaks of an offering by Pina Lakshmīrāju to the temple of Āsaṇṭi Rāmēśvara, of an areca garden which had been presented to his father Āsaṇṭi Sūraparāja by king Vishṇuvardhana on the occasion of the marriage of his daughter Mallārādēvi to Sūraparāja. Though not referred previously, the last two inscriptions, i.e. the record from Juttiga¹⁹⁹ which refers to the king's 13th regnal year, and the record from Āchaṇṭa²⁰⁰ dated A.D. 1255 state, the name of the king as Vijayāditya. Could this Vijayāditya be Chandraśekhara? The period of rule of both of them being the same and the realm ruled by them



also being the same, it looks reasonable to identify them as one. Alternatively Vijayāditya might be a younger brother of Chandraśekhara and the third son of Mallapadēva, named after his grandfather Vijayāditya II. The direct line of the Chālukyas of Jananāthapura came to an end after the rule of the sons of Mallapadēva III.

By this time some sudden changes occurred in the political scene of Āndhra; and they naturally showed their effects on this family also, which led to the gradual disappearance of these chiefs. The Velanāṭi chiefs were conquered by the Kākatiya monarchs, who made inroads upto Kaṭiṅga. The then rulers of Kaṭiṅga were Rājarājadēva III (A.D. 1198-1211), Aniyanka Bhīma III (A.D. 1211-1238), and Narasimha I (A.D. 1238-1258) and they faced frequent challenges from the Kākatiya kings. The main cause for the conflict was to acquire supremacy over the Gōdāvarī valley. The frequent wars between them suggest the swinging nature of their fortunes over Southern and Madhyama Kaṭiṅgas. Being tempted by this situation, the Sultans of Bengal began their attacks over the Gaṅga kingdom. In such critical situation, what happened to the last rulers of this Chālukya family is not known. As Malhapadēvī the chief queen of Gaṅga Rājarājadēva III happened to be a Chālukya princess, and as Chālukya Rājarāja I of Śrīkūrmam happened to be the minister of Gaṅga Narasimha I, the



Chālukya rulers might have gone to the rescue of the Gaṅgas, in which attempt they must have moved eastwards and once for all vacated the Gōdāvarī valley which in the succeeding times became the arena of disputes among Gaṅgas, Reddis, Telugu Chōḍas and Rēcharla Chiefs.



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38. C.P. No.77 of Sewell's list, as cited by V. Rangacharya in V.R., Vol. II Godavari District.
39. V.R., Vol. II, Godavari District.
40. A.R.E. Nos. 280, 281, of 1892; 510, 511, 512, 536 of 1893; 745 of 1920.
41. C.P. No.77 of Sewell's list, as cited by V. Rangacharya in V.R., Vol. II, Godavari District.
42. Bhāratī, January, 1968, p.3.



43. E.I., Vol. IV, p.226.
44. A.R.E. No.10 of 1916-17.
45. Bhāratī, January 1968, p.3.
46. A.R.E. No.10 of 1916-17.
47. E.I., Vol. IV, p.226.
48. Ibid., Vol. IV, p.226; and Bhāratī, January, 1968, p.3.
49. Historical Inscriptions of Southern India, p.382.
50. E.I., Vol. IV, p.226.
51. Ibid.
52. J.A.H.R.S., Vol. XX, p.153.
53. Bhāratī, January, 1968, p.3.
54. S.I.I., Vol. IV, Nos. 1191, 1192, 1193, 1195, 1196, 1197;
Vol. X, Nos. 110, 113, 114, 116.
55. E.I., Vol. IV, p.226; and Bhāratī, January, 1968, p.3.
56. J.A.H.R.S., Vol. XX, p.153.
57. S.I.I., Vol. IV, Nos. 1191, 1192, 1193, 1195, 1196;
Vol. X, Nos. 110, 113, 114, 116.
58. S.I.I., Vol. X, No.18.
59. Ibid., Appendix.
60. Inscriptions of Madras Presidency, Part II Kt. 346 cited
by V. Yasodadevi in J.A.H.R.S., Vol. XX, p.153.
61. S.I.I., Vol. X, No.18.
62. J.A.H.R.S., Vol. XX, p.153.
63. I.H.C., Vol. 40, p.1076.
64. Bhāratī, January, 1968, p.3.



65. E.I., Vol. IV, p.226.
66. A.R.E. No.10 of 1916-17.
67. Bhārati, January, 1968, p.3.
68. E.I., Vol. IV, p.226.
69. S.I.I., Vol. IV, Nos. 1191, 1192, 1193, 1195, 1196, 1197;
Vol. X, Nos. 110, 113, 114, 116.
70. E.I., Vol. IV, p.226.
71. Ibid.
72. A.R.E. No.355 of 1896.
73. Ibid., No.10 of 1916-17.
74. S.I.I., Vol. IV, Nos. 1261, 1373-A; S.I.I., Vol. V, No.61.
75. E.I., Vol. IV, p.226.
76. S.I.I., Vol. V, No.84.
77. Ibid., Vol. IV, No.1275-B.
78. Ibid., No.1372.
79. S.I.I., Vol. X, No.11.
80. Ibid.
81. Ibid., No.349.
82. E.I., Vol. IX, p.45, Vol. XVIII, p.1.
83. Ibid.
84. I.A., Vol. XX, p.266.
85. Ibid., Vol. XIII, p.248.
86. A.R.E., No.170 of 1966.
87. The Chālukyas of L(V)emulavāda, p.35.
88. Pallavulu-Chālukvulu, p.221.



89. J.A.H.R.S., Vol. VI, p.176.
90. Ibid., Vol. XX, p.153.
91. S.I.I., Vol. I, No.37.
92. E.I., Vol. IX, p.52.
93. A.R.E., cp. No.1 of 1916-17.
94. E.I., Vol. IX, p.52.
95. Ibid., Vol. XXIV, p.268.
96. Ibid., Vol. IV, p.226.
97. Ibid.
98. A.S.P.P., Vol. X, p.42.
99. J.A.H.R.S., Vol. XXXII, p.65.
100. It is an interesting question whether Vikramachōla actually came to Vēngī as Viceroy. Except in the records of this branch of rulers, his Viceroyalty is nowhere stated. A number of records in the Godavari districts refer to Parāntaka as the Viceroy. Hence B.V. Krishna Rao (History of the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi, p.466) identified both Parāntaka and Vikramachōla as one. He states that while he was in Vēngī he called himself Parāntakadeva, and when he ascended the Chōla throne, he assumed the name Vikrama Chōladēva. But there is no basis for this identification. Parāntaka might have been succeeded by Vikramachōla to the Vēngī Viceroyalty in A.D. 1118, in which year he was crowned as heir-apparent to the Chōla throne. From the evidence of the records of this family of the Chālukyas, there is scope to accept his presence as Viceroy in Vēngī for a short period in between A.D. 1118 and A.D. 1120, the year of his coronation on the Chōla throne.
101. Bhārati, September, 1947, p.267.
102. E.I., Vol. IV, p.226.
103. In the Piṭhāpuram pillar inscription the last son was named as Sāmidēva.



104. J.A.H.R.S., Vol. XXXII, p.65.
105. S.I.I., Vol. IV, No.1243.
Paleography of this inscription suggests that this belongs to the first half of the 12th Century A.D.
106. Ibid., Vol. X, No.116.
107. J.A.H.R.S., Vol. XVIII, p.67.
108. Ibid., Vol. XX, p.153.
109. S.I.I., Vol. IV, No.1191.
110. Ibid., No.1192.
111. Ibid., No.1195.
112. Ibid., No.1196.
113. Ibid., No.1198.
114. Ibid., No.1197.
115. In some of these inscriptions the regnal years damaged and the Department of Epigraphy supplies them with 'two' or 'three' as the case may be; but the correct suitable number at this instance must be 'three', as the remaining inscriptions of the same Saka year and Śiṃhamāsa state that year as 'three'.
116. S.I.I., Vol. IV, No.1193.
117. Ibid., No.1170.
118. Ibid., No.1177.
119. A.R.E., No.318 of 1893.
120. S.I.I., Vol. X, No.110.
121. Ibid., Nos. 13 and 14.
122. Ibid., Vol. X, Appendix.
123. Historical Inscriptions of Southern India, p.104.
124. S.I.I., Vol. X, No.18 and 17.



125. Ibid., Appendix.
126. Ibid., No.116.
127. Historical Inscriptions of Southern India, p.104.
128. A.R.E., 1912, Part B, No.66.
129. Sewell noticed (Sewell's list, No.137) another inscription of Vishnuvardhana at Drākshārāma dated A.D. 1127. But he noted that it was issued in the 40th regnal year of Vishnuvardhana. V. Yasodadevi thought this 40th year to be a mistake for the 4th year.
130. S.I.I., Vol. IV, No.1243.
131. A.R.E., No.680 of 1926.
132. S.I.I., Vol. IV, No.1177.
133. Ibid., No.1193.
134. Ibid., No.1170.
135. In the Gūdūr inscription dated A.D. 1131-32 of Kumāra Sōmēśvara, son of Vikramāditya VI (A.S.P.P., Vol.50, p.33) it is stated that in an uncommon battle he conquered Chōḍagaṅga.
136. J.A.H.R.S., Vol. XX, p.153.
137. A.R.E., No.579 of 1908.
138. E.I., Vol. IX, Part I, No.212.
139. A.R.E., No.153, of 1897.
140. A.S.P.P., Vol.50, p.33.
141. The later day records like the Eḍarupalli inscription dated A.D. 1179 of Mallapa II stated Jananāthapura as their capital. But one record dated A.D. 1145 of this Vishnuvardhana mentions him as the crowned prince at Rājahmahēndravaram. Hence the shift of the capital must took place in between A.D. 1145 and A.D. 1179.
142. Historical Inscriptions of Southern India, No.77.



143. I.A., Vol. XX, p.266.
144. A.S.P.P., Vol. X, p.42.
145. In this inscription the date is given as 'Śakē Śaila muni Vyayēndu sahitē' and hence calculated as Ś.1077. Some suggested (Bhāratī, September, 1971, p.20) this as 'Śakē Śaila muni Trayēndu sahitē' i.e. Ś.1377, which is not correct.
146. Bhāratī, January, 1969, p.15.
147. I.H.C., Vol. 40, p.1076.
148. J.A.H.R.S., Vol. XX, p.153.
149. Ibid., Vol. XXXII, p.65.
150. Inscriptions of Andhradesa, Vol. II, p.178.
151. Bharati, January, 1969, p.3.
152. A.R.E., No.10 of 1916-17.
153. E.I., Vol. IV, p.226.
154. It has been suggested by M. Sambasivaramamurty (Bhāratī, January, 1968, p.3) that these two Queens Lakshmidēvi and Gaṅgāmbā were the daughters of the same king Pulakēśi of Mārjavāḍi country. He considered Mārjavāḍi and Ārāḍavāḍa as synonyms.
155. S.I.I., Vol. VI, No.116.
156. History of the Eastern Chalukyas of Venṇi, p.495.
157. It seems that the armies of Velanāṭi Rājendra Chōḍa II conquered Pulakesi and devastated his country. After this conquest Vinjamapōta, an officer acquired the title 'Mārāḍavāḍi dāvānalunḍu' (S.I.I., Vol. IV, No.1242).
158. Bhāratī, January, 1968, p.3.
159. A.R.E., C.P. No.10 of 1916-17; Part B, No.29.
160. M. Venkatesvarulu wrongly noted (Bhāratī, September, 1947, p.267) this date of this incscription as A.D. 1195.



161. i) S.I.I., Vol. V, No.67.
 ii) Ibid., No.70.
 iii) Ibid., No.89.
 iv) Ibid., No.90.
 v) Ibid., No.91.
162. i) S.I.I., Vol. IV, No.1168.
 ii) Ibid., No.1201.
163. A.R.E., No.739 of 1920.
164. S.I.I., Vol. IV, No.1168.
165. In his article entitled 'Kakatiyula Charitra' (published in Kakatiya Sanchika, p.57), M. Rama Rao states that there was one Mallapa styled as the son-in-law of Kakati Ganapatideva in one Draksharama inscription dated A.D. 1175. He did not give the reference to its publication. Among the inscriptions in Draksharama, we could not find any Mallapa styled as the son-in-law of Ganapatideva.
166. i) S.I.I., Vol. IV, No.1261.
 ii) Ibid., No.1373-A.
 In No.1261, the name of the king is stated as Vishnuvardhana only. But Viranarendra had the epithet Vishnuvardhana and hence we have considered this inscription as belongs to Viranarendra. Moreover there is no other Chalukya Vishnuvardhana in these areas with A.D. 1177 as date of coronation.
 The date portion of No.1373-A is not clear. The chronogram given is "Sakabdē nāga (nandāgni) rannavēn (ddu)". We have calculated this as Ś.1098. Parentage of the king and the date given in others records is in support to this calculation.
167. Ibid., Vol. V, No.61.
168. J.A.H.R.S., Vol. XXXV, p.421.
169. Bharati, May 1979, p.15.
170. S.I.I., Vol. IV, No.1155.
171. Ibid., Vol. V, No.8.



172. In Sarpavaram of the East Godavari District, there are ten more inscriptions (S.I.I., Vol. V, Nos. 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22 and 23) which refer to the various regnal dates of king Vishnuvardhana. No one bears any other particulars of the king except those regnal dates which varied from 3 to 37. We do not know whether all those dates were applicable to one king Vishnuvardhana or to various others, who bore the same name. In those records some mention the grants of one Permadidēva and of his queens to God Bhāvanārāyaṇa of Sarpavaram. The identity of this Vira Permadidēva is much more essential in knowing the other details of this Vishnuvardhana. All these inscriptions mentions the gift of he-buffaloes to keep lamps in the above said temple. If we accept all those regnal years to be belonged to Vishnuvardhana whose coronation date falls in A.D. 1193-94, he might have ruled till A.D. 1230-31, being his 37th regnal year mentioned. But the problem, is all his inscriptions are located in Sarpavaram only. Even if we said that his long rule of 37 years continued in that area of Sarpavaram alone, it is a question how his rule would be allowed for such continuous period by the strongest ruler like Mallapadēva Chakravarti who also came to rule the same Prōlunāṇḍu tract from A.D. 1202.

B. Radhakrishna in his work Early Telugu Inscriptions calculated all these regnal years of Vishnuvardhana to be belonged to the period of Vishnuvardhana Vijayāditya, the step-brother of Rājarājanarēndra, and the last ruler, or the last but one ruler of the Vāṅgī Chāḷukya family. If we accept that suggestion, then this Vishnuvardhana of A.D. 1201 can be regarded as a separate ruler who had probably no connection with the other inscriptions in the same temple.

- 173. A.R.E., No.455 of 1893.
- 174. J.A.H.R.S., Vol. XX, p.153.
- 175. E.I., Vol. IV, p.226.
- 176. Ibid.
- 177. Bhārati, January, 1968, p.3.



178. Moreover there are evidences (S.I.I., Vol. IV, No.1384) to say that Jananāthapura was the Viceregal seat of the Chālukya Chōlas. In their regime also they used to issue royal orders from Jananāthapura, which is described as "Vēngī bhūtalabhūshanam". As successors of the Chālukya-Chōlas in this region, this Chālukya branch must have continued to rule from Jananāthapura.
179. i) Telugu Samskriti, Vol. III, p.200.
ii) Sunday Standard, July, 1967 - as cited in Bhārati, January, 1968, p.3.
180. The Early History of the Deccan, Vol. I, p.365.
181. Nannava, p.38.
182. E.I., Vol. IV, p.226.
183. S.I.I., Vol. V, No.93.
184. Ibid., Vol. IV, No.1221.
185. Ibid., No.1022.
186. Historical Inscriptions of Southern India, p.382.
187. J.A.H.R.S., Vol. XX, p.153.
188. S.I.I., Vol. V, No.75.
189. Ibid., . . .
190. Ibid., No.84.
191. Ibid., Vol. IV, No.1025.
192. J.A.H.R.S., Vol. XX, p.153.
193. S.I.I., Vol. IV, No.1275-B
194. Ibid., No.1372.
195. Ibid., Vol. X, No.11.
196. Ibid., No.348.
197. Ibid., No.11.
198. Ibid., No.349.
199. Ibid., No.11.



CHAPTER - IVCHĀLUKYAS OF ELAMAÑCHILI

Another important line of rulers that connected itself with the Chālukyas of Vēngī and ruled over parts of Madhyama Kālīṅga, i.e., the present Viśākhapaṭṇam district, is the Chālukya branch at Elamañchili.¹ Roughly for four hundred years, from twelfth century to sixteenth century, these Chālukyas ruled over the region with Elamañchili as their capital. Most of them were eminent administrators and warriors. Kings like Viśvēśvara achieved some important military victories. In addition they were famous for their patronage of literature and construction of monuments, which stand as the cultural land-marks of the period. This dynasty owed nominal allegiance to the Eastern Gaṅgas, the Reddis, and the Gajapatis; but they were practically independent.

Elamañchili is situated in the hill-tracts of the Eastern ghats, between the rivers Śāradā and Varāhā in the district of Viśākhapaṭṇam. Elamañchili was under the rule of the Chālukyas of Vēngī from seventh century A.D. It was under their authority that the entire region was integrated into the rest of Āndhra. But their authority over this region suffered a check from natural geographical factors like the hill-tracts in Madhyama Kālīṅga and the River Gōdāvarī, which impeded proper supervision and control. Even then,



they regarded this region as an appendage to the kingdom of Vēṅgī and tried to exercise their authority over it. Madhyama Kālīṅga came prominently into the picture for the first time during the struggles for succession to the Vēṅgī throne. Kokkili Vikramāditya-bhaṭṭāraka, entitled 'Vijayasiddhi', ruled over the whole of the Vēṅgī tract for a short period, but was driven out by his elder brother Vishṇuvardhana III. Then he came to settle at Elamañchili and made it his capital for the security provided by the hill-tracts of Madhyama Kālīṅga. The ruler of Vēṅgī could not harass him. Kokkili and his successors consolidated their power in this area. It could be seen, from the Munjēru grants,² that four successive kings of this family ruled over this area and extended their authority upto Bhōgāpura-Vishaya, the modern Bhōgāpuram in the Vizianagaram district.

They bore the epithet 'Sarvalōkāśraya' and the last of them was entitled 'Anivāritaśaktitraya sambanna'. It seems that Kokkili built a village after his name adjacent to his capital Elamañchili. It could be the present Kokkirāpalle in Yellamanchili Taluq, two miles to the north-west of Yellamanchili. The local traditions and folklore of that area attest to this fact.³ The rule of the family of Kokkili was probably put an end to by the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kālīṅga, whose kingdom bordered on the province of Elamañchili.



There is no evidence for the Eastern Chālukya authority in this area till the coronation of Guṇaga Vijayāditya, i.e., upto A.D. 848. The authority of the Gaṅgas in Madhyama Kalinga was contested by the Eastern Chālukyas, only from the time of Guṇaga Vijayāditya after which they styled themselves as rulers of 'Trikaṇṇa'.

Again there is a reference to Elamañchili Kalingadēśa in the Kasimkōṭa plates⁴ of Chālukya Bhīma I, who ruled from A.D. 892 to 922 and who succeeded Guṇaga Vijayāditya. It gives the usual genealogy of the dynasty and says that the king, who conquered his dāyādās and their ally Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa II, granted a village by name 'Tini' in Elamañchi Kalingadēśa and Dēvarāshṭra-Vishaya. When a revival of the Gaṅga power took place in the first quarter of the tenth century under Vajrahasta I (A.D. 896-940) the authority of the Gaṅgas was once again restored in Kalinga. The expedition led by the Chālukya king Vijayāditya Kollābhigaṇḍa in A.D. 922 against the Kalinga ruler ended in a disaster for the Chālukyas.⁵ Thus Elamañchili played an important role in the history of the Eastern Chālukyas on different occasions. But no line of kings successively and successfully ruled this area till the end of the twelfth century. It is only from that time a line of kings of Chālukya family ruled successively from Elamañchili.



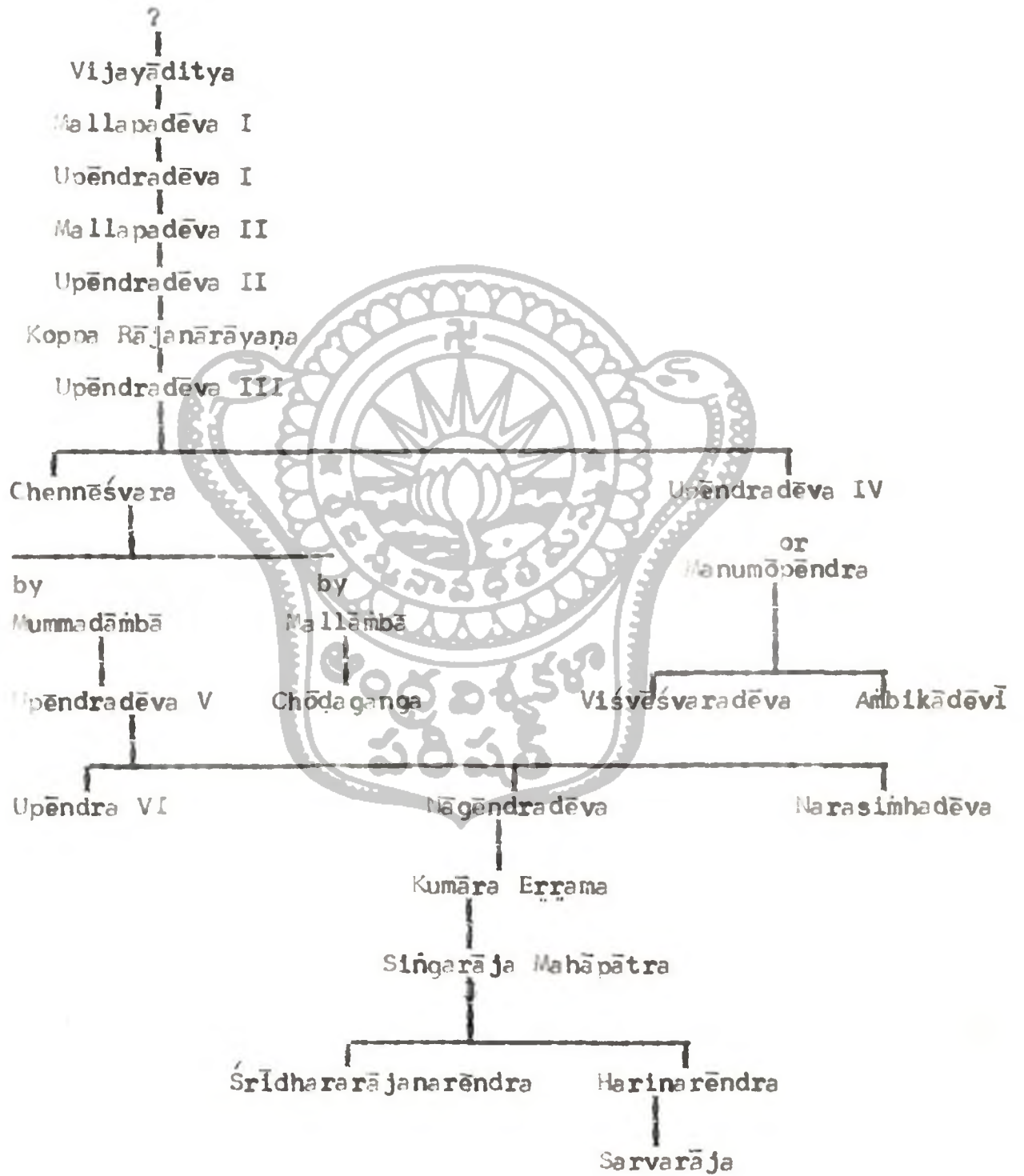
Genealogy and Chronology:

It is a tradition among the ruling families of the medieval period to trace the origin of their dynasty from Vishnu and connect themselves with the lunar or solar dynasties. This Chālukya branch is also not an exception to that practice. Their description of the family begins with the mythical ancestor. After giving a lengthy list from Vishnu to Janamejaya as usual, one legendary hero Vishnuvardhana was introduced. In his line were born some important kings like Chālukya Bhīma, Vimalāditya and Rājarājanarēndra. This Rājarājanarēndra is said to have founded the capital city Rājamahēndravara⁶ on the banks of the Gōdāvarī. This is contradictory to the view that Rājamahēndravara was founded by Amma I who had an epithet Rāja mahendra and who ruled a century before Rājarājanarēndra. Rājarājanarēndra's son was Kulōttunga Chōḍa. These rulers Chālukya Bhīma, Vimalāditya and Rājarājanarēndra are the famous kings in the Eastern Chālukya family. Only these three rulers are mentioned both in inscriptions and literature of this family even though there are still more famous kings like Guṇaga Vijayāditya in the Chālukya family of Vēṅgī. The name of Kulōttunga Chōḍa, as a son of Rājarājanarēndra is correctly mentioned. But his migration to the South to rule over the Chōḷa empire which is mentioned in the inscriptions of the Chālukya branch of Jananāthapura, has not



found mention in these sources. After the name of Kulōttunga Chōḍa, the first king of the Chālukya branch of Elamañchili was introduced, Vijayāditya the rising Sun. Though Vijayāditya did not issue any inscriptions of his own, his name was recorded in the inscriptions of his successors as the earliest ruler of the direct line of the Chālukyas of Elamañchili. The inscriptions of this dynasty furnish the following genealogy.





As almost all the inscriptions of this family are dated, there are no major problems in fixing the chronology. The following principles are adopted in tracing out the regnal periods of the rulers of this family.

- i) The earliest known date of a particular ruler is taken as the initial year of his rule.
- ii) Even though no specific reference to the death of the ruling kings is found, inscriptions issued by their queens jointly with their sons or the inscriptions given by their queens for the merit of their sons were treated as those belonging to the period of the son of that respective queen.
- iii) Conjoint rule of two kings is fixed only if it is strongly supported by the evidence of inscriptions as well as of literature. Observing these conditions, the following chronology is formulated for the rulers of this branch. The details of their respective periods of rule will be discussed elsewhere.

	A.D.
Vijayāditya	- 1205 - 1228
Mallapadēva I	- 1228 - 1253
Upēndradēva I	- 1253 - 1266
Mallapadēva II	- 1266 - 1283
Upēndradēva II	- 1283 - 1316
Koppa-Rājanārāyaṇa	- 1316 - 1356
Upēndradēva III	- 1356 - 1364
Chennēśvara	- 1364 - 1372
Upēndradēva IV	- 1372 - 1375



Upēndradēva V	- 1375 - 1377
Viśvēśvaradēva	- 1377 - 1407
Chōḍagaṅgu	- 1391 - 1412
Upēndradēva VI	- 1412 - 1417
Nāgēndradēva	- 1417 - 1422
Nṛisimhadēva	- 1422 - 1437
Kumāra Errama	- 1437 - 1494
Siṅgarāja Mahāpātra	- 1530 - 1538
Harī Narēndra	- 1538 - 1570 or 1580
Sarvarāja	- 1570 or 1580 - 1599

During the 13th Century many feudatory dynasties came into existence in the region around Madhyama Kāṭiṅga, prominent among them being the Chāḷukyas of Elamañchili, the Matsyas of Oddādi, the Surabhis of Jāṭarnāḍu and the Śilāvaṁśa Chiefs of Nandapura. The Gaṅgas in South Kāṭiṅga became weak owing to the shift of their capital from Mukhaliṅgam to Cuttack and to their policy to rule the country through trusted feudatories etc. The decline of Gaṅga authority gave scope for the emergence of their subordinate power during this period.

1. Vijayāditya (A.D. 1205 - 1228):

Vijayāditya is the first known king of the direct line of the Chāḷukyas of Elamañchili. His wife was Chandāmbikā



by whom he got a son by name Mallapadēva. Not much is known about this king as no inscriptions of his are found. Even though there is no clear evidence to fix the period of this king, Sewell places him⁷ about A.D. 1170 on the ground that he was "of the family of Kulōttunga Chōḍa I". But in the inscriptions it is clearly mentioned⁸ that Vijayāditya belonged to the lineage or dynasty of Kulōttunga Chōḍa, but not a member in regular succession to him. Hence V. Yasodadevi also doubts⁹ the correctness of the date given by Sewell as it is not corroborated by any other evidence. She fixed the period of this Vijayāditya round about A.D. 1175.

It is difficult to determine who this Vijayāditya could be. M. Somasekhara Sarma thought¹⁰ that this Chāḷukya prince was a descendant of Bēta Vijayāditya, who was expelled from Vēngī by his cousin Tāḷaparāja in the tenth century A.D. An inscription of Gōmathī dēvī,¹¹ the sister of one Vijayāditya, which describes the Eastern Chāḷukya prāsasti was issued in A.D. 1205 in Drākshārāma. In it Vijayāditya is stated to have been the son of one Trailupadēva and the rule of Rājādhirājadēva is acknowledged. It is possible that this Vijayāditya was the founder of the Elamañchili kingdom, and A.D. 1205 could be the initial



year of his reign. Since the earliest date of his son Mallapadēva is A.D. 1228, he must have ruled in between 1205 and 1228. The details of his reign are nowhere recorded. Prior to Vijayāditya's occupation of the area, Elamañchili was under the Gaṅga ruler Rājarājadēva III, the son of Aniyāṅka Bhīma II; for, an inscription dated A.D. 1197 in Maḍutūru¹² in the Yellamanchili Taluq, which mentions the construction of Chōlēśvara temple, acknowledges his rule. As Malhanadēvi, the chief queen of Gaṅga Rājarājadēva III happens to be a Chālukya princess, and as Chālukya Rājarāja I of Śrīkūrmam happens to be a minister of Gaṅga Narasiṁha I, it is possible to believe that this branch of Elamañchili came into these areas as subordinates to Gaṅga ruler.

2. Mallapadēva I (A.D. 1228 - 1253):

The son and successor of Vijayāditya was Sarvalōkāśraya Mallapadēva. The only inscription known of this period is that of his wife Lakshmidēvi.

Regarding the king's chronology, Sewell stated¹³ that "the date of succession of Mallapa I, A.D. 1175 is fixed by a record of his 3rd year at Bhīmavaram in the Godavari district". But this record¹⁴ belongs to the Chālukyas of Jananāthapura; and consequently the fixation of the reign of Mallapa from A.D. 1175 to A.D. 1225 does not appear to be correct. Moreover, his reign came to an end in A.D. 1253;



and so it is reasonable to put the reign of this king in between A.D. 1228 and A.D. 1253.

The gift of a village named Maṇapa, which was in Nāharu-Pākanāṭigattu, is noticed in an inscription at Siṃhāchalam dated A.D. 1266 of his wife Lakshmidēvī.¹⁵ The gift was given for the health and wealth of her son Upēndra I. There is no mention of Mallapadēva. So it is not known whether he was alive or not. Actually the name mentioned in the inscription is Maṅgirāja. Basing on the genealogical similarity he is identified as Mallapadēva I. The inscription mentions that he was the father of the then ruler Upēndra I. We can take A.D. 1253, as the last date of Mallapa as will be shown later. On the basis of the localities mentioned in the Siṃhāchalam inscription, we can state that the early rulers of this family were ruling around the areas of Rāpartī near Piṭhāpuram and in Nāharu-Pākanāṭu, an area which is not identified. It is reasonable to conclude that A.D. 1253 is the last date of Mallapa. This point will be discussed later.

3. Upēndra I (A.D. 1253 - 1266):

Upēndra I succeeded his father Mallapadēva I. It is described that he was a "Karavāla Bhairava" to the enemies and "Dharaṇī Varāha" to his fellows and friends. However,



this period witnessed neither conflicts nor peace settlements, despite the assumption of such titles by the king.

In an inscription of Drākshārāma¹⁶ dated in A.D. 1253, Upēndra offered gifts in memory of his father Mallapadēva. It is clear that by this time Mallapa I already passed away; for Upēndra I made his offerings in the Bhīmēśvara temple of Drākshārāma for the peace of his father's soul. Another record of his dated A.D. 1259 is from Pōlakollu¹⁷ mentioning the offering of a lamp to god Kṣīrārāmēśvara. As mentioned before,¹⁸ Upēndra's mother Lakshmīdēvi gave offerings to God Narasimhanātha of Sīmāchalam in A.D. 1266 for his health and wealth. This inscription keeps silent about his father Mallapadēva being alive or not. It is certain that the inscription dated A.D. 1266 by Lakshmīdēvi in Sīmāchalam was given after the death of Mallapa. A.D. 1253 may be considered as the date of the death of Mallapa and the succession of Upēndra I to the throne.

Gaṅgāmbā was the queen of Upēndra I, and Mallapadēva II was their son.¹⁹ V. Yasodadevi²⁰ mentions by mistake the name of this queen as Gaṇapāmbikā. But two inscriptions from Panchadhārla, one belonging to the period of Viśvēśvara²¹ and the other to the period of Nṛsiṃha,²² refer to her name as Gaṅgāmbā. In his Drākshārāma inscription,²³ Upēndra



granted a village named Pandruvāḍa for the maintenance of various bhōgas. The name of this village comes close to Pandrevāḍa near Piṭhāpuram and hence the two are identical.

4. Mallapadēva II (A.D. 1266 - 83):

Mallapadēva II was the son and successor of Upēndradēva I. No inscriptions of his time are available.

The initial date of his reign was probably around A.D. 1266. Sewell gave²⁴ the date of his accession as A.D. 1250, which is earlier than that assigned for the father of this Mallapadēva II. His last date can be inferred from the Siṃhāchalam inscription²⁵ dated in A.D. 1283, issued by Upēndradēva II, his son and successor. The same inscription mentions Chōḍāmbikā as the queen of Mallapa II. An inscription from Drākshārāma²⁶ which is stated to have been issued by one Maṅgirāju, son of Upēndradēva, records various offerings to god Bhīmēśvara. In this record the date portion and the last section are in a damaged condition. But the Government Epigraphist restored the date as A.D. 1288. Basing on the time and on the similarity of names, it is reasonable to identify this Maṅgirāja with Mallapa II. But such identification necessitates extension of his rule until A.D. 1288 (as determined by the Government Epigraphist). But his son and successor Upēndra II came to the throne



in A.D. 1283 as could be seen from *Sinhāchalam* inscription.

Chālukya Kulabhūshaṇa, *Sarvalōkāśraya* and *Vishṇuvardhana* were his titles which were mentioned in the records.

5. Upēndradēva II (A.D. 1283 - 1316):

Upēndradēva II succeeded his father Mallapadēva II at about A.D. 1283, when he issued the *Sinhāchalam* inscription along with his mother.²⁷ He might have ruled upto A.D. 1316, the earliest date of his successor Koppa Rājanārāyaṇa. His epithets mentioned in the records are *Rājasēkhara*, *Chālukya-kulabhūshaṇa* and *Chālukyavamśa Kshatipati Tilaka*.

His relations with other rulers are not known. In one of the records,²⁸ it is stated that he humiliated the pride of his inimical kings. But the names of those Chieftains and the occasion when he defeated them are not specified.

His wife was Mallāmbikā by whom he begot a son Koppa-Rājanārāyaṇa.

In memory of his mother Chōḍāmbika, Upēndra II built a vill by name '*Chōḍamallāgrahāram*'. The exact location of that village is not known.

6. Koppa-Rājanārāyaṇa (A.D. 1316 - 1356):

Koppa-Rājanārāyaṇa was the son and successor of Upēndradēva II. According to V. Yasodadevi,²⁹ he succeeded



to the throne around A.D. 1300. But his earliest record is dated A.D. 1316. Even though his name is Rājanārāyaṇa, his successors mention him as Koppēśvara or Kopparāja, probably because of his extreme devotion to Koppēśvara of Kshīrārāma, i.e., Pālakollu, in the West Godavari District.

He was praised as a great ruler and a scholar. His reign may have lasted upto A.D. 1336, the earliest date of his son Upēndradēva III. On the basis of epigraphical evidence, it might be stated that Koppa ruled over East and West Godavari districts.

While mentioning³⁰ his offering of lands for the raising of structures and maintenance of bhogas in the Koppēśvara temple of Pālakollu, the land at 'Rākuduru' village near 'Pendalamirithi' is mentioned. But the identification of these villages is not known.

The Rajahmundry Museum plates³¹ of Annadēvachōḍa of the Telugu Chōḍa family record that Chōḍa Bhaktirāja, overthrew the Gajapati monarch near Panchadhārāla and that he installed one Koppulapati, his subordinate, on the throne. Nothing definite is known³² about Bhaktirāja's victory over the then Gajapati Vīranarasimha III. As a subordinate of Vīranarasimha III this Chālukya Koppadēva might have fought on his side and as a result of his defeat Koppadēva might



have been dethroned. His kingdom in Madhyama-Kaṭiṅga became a bone of contention between the two powers, the Telugu Chōḍas of Kāmarapurukōṭa and the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaṭiṅga.

In this connection it is necessary to give a brief note about the Telugu Chōḍa Chiefs of Kāmarapurukōṭa. The Telugu Chōḍa family was an important ruling family in Āndhra which spread its power by establishing new principalities and it held sway from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries. The early rulers of this family were probably subordinates of Kākati Gaṇapatideva and they participated in his Eastern campaign. They gradually grew as a strong political power. The Rajahmundry Museum plates recount their exploits and conquests over Muslims, Rēcherlas, Reddis and Gajapatis. The Gajapati king of the corresponding period was a Vīraṇarasimha III. It is therefore probably that he faced a defeat in the battle at Panchadhārāla at the hands of the Telugu Chōḍas. As Elamañchili chiefs happened to be under the influence of the Gajapatis it became a must for them to fight on the side of the Gajapatis against the Telugu Chōḍas, who came in support of the Koppula Chiefs.

The queen of Kopparājanārāyaṇa was Gaṅgāmbā, by whom he begot a son Upēndradēva III.



As it is a common practice for a number of rulers of this family to rear villages either in the names of their parents or of their own, it is possible that he raised a village in his name, the present Koppāka, on the banks of the river Varāhā in the Yellamanchili Taluq.

7. Upēndradēva III (A.D. 1356-1364):

Upēndradēva III succeeded his father Koppa-Rājanārāyaṇa in C.A.D. 1356, his earliest date mentioned in the Sīmḥāchalam inscription.³³ He issued another inscription in the temple on the seashore at Appikonda³⁴ near Visakhapatnam, which mentions his offerings to Chillīśvara Mahādēva in memory of his father Koppadēva. He was styled in these inscriptions as 'Sarvalōkābhirāma of Chālukyakula' and 'the possessor of Varāhalāñchhana'.

He had two sons Chennēsvara and Manumōpēndra by queen Bimbāmbā.

His inscription at Sīmḥāchalam³⁵ has the prasasti generally found in the Eastern Chālukya inscriptions in which the performance of Aśvamēdha etc. by the Chālukyas was mentioned. The same inscription mentions the grant of a land in Teruvupalle, a village five miles away from Elamañchili. This is the first reference to the issue of lands in the areas surrounding Elamañchili by the rulers of this branch. Till now all the grants made by the early rulers



of this family are confined to the district of East Godavari. Owing either to the political disturbances that took place in the period of Koppadēva or to other similar causes, the Chālukya authority in the East Godavari district was on the wane and it confined itself to the heart of Madhyama Kālīṅga.

There is no evidence to determine the duration of his reign. But the last date of his son's reign is A.D. 1372; and perhaps, half of the period in between A.D. 1356 and A.D. 1372 may be assigned to Upēndra III for his rule. The last date of his would then be A.D. 1364.

Upēndra III, with the help of his sovereign Vīra-Bhānudeva III might have challenged the Koppula power in the province of Elamañchili. That resulted in a war in which the Koppula chief was ousted from the throne; and this led later to a number of wars with the Reddi power. An epigraph dated A.D. 1377³⁶ states that Anavēma Reddi "destroyed Rājamahēndravara, Niravadyapura and other sthaladurgas". He seems to have subdued the east coast as far as Sīmhāchalam and imposed his authority on some of the Chiefs of South Kālīṅga. An epigraph at Sīmhāchalam³⁷ dated A.D. 1375 states that his minister Chennamnāidu took a village from a Matsya king Arjunadēva of Oddādi for the purpose of making an offering



to the temple of Nṛsiṃha. Anavēma's hold over the Northern districts of his kingdom remained unshaken during this period.

The subjugation of Kaluvalapalli by Allayavēma in A.D. 1392 and of Kasimkōṭa by Allayavīra in A.D. 1417 (which villages are in the neighbourhood of Elamañchili) showed the successive conflicts for this area.

8. Chenniśvara:

Chenniśvara succeeded his father Upēndra III in Circa A.D. 1364. A record of his wife Mummadidevī found at Simhāchalam³⁸ dated in A.D. 1372 prefixes 'Elamañchi' to the name of the king. Another inscription of his son, Chōḍagangadēva at the same place refers to Mallāmbā as the queen of Chenniśvara. So it can be stated that Chenniśvara had two queens - Mummadidevī and Mallāmbā and he had two sons Upēndra V and Chōḍaganga by the two queens respectively.

As no direct evidence of inscriptions is available, it is very difficult to date his reign. The grant of Mummadāmbā in A.D. 1372 may be assigned better to the period of Upēndra V than to that of Chenniśvara, because there is no mention in it whether Elamañchi Chenniśvara was alive or not. But from later evidences like that of Viśvēśvaradēva's



inscription,³⁹ it is clear that the then ruler was Manumōpēndra or Upēndra IV. Though Upēndra V claims regal powers by A.D. 1372 onwards, he might have ruled conjointly with his uncle Upēndra IV; or he might have been contesting the throne with him, in which he could have succeeded after the fall of Upēndra IV in 1370's. Hence it can be said that Chennīśvara died before the issue of Mumudāmbā's grant in Simhāchalam in A.D. 1372.

V. Yasodadevi conjectures⁴⁰ that Chennīśvara shifted the capital from Pañchadhārāla to Elamañchili. But there is no evidence for this suggestion.

9. Upēndra IV or Manumōpēndra:

Upēndra IV or Manumōpēndra, the second son of Upēndra III and the brother of Chennīśvara ascended the throne after his brother some time in A.D. 1372. The Pañchadhārāla pillar inscription of Viśvēśvara, issued in 1377 A.D. describes his father's enthronement.⁴¹ He was a capable ruler "who followed the Kshatriyadharma". He bore the titles 'Rājasēkhara', 'Sarvajña' and 'Śaṅkara'.

Probably he ruled upto A.D. 1375, and his nephew Upēndra V upto A.D. 1377. The inscription of Viśvēśvara⁴² is dated in A.D. 1377, which showed that he ascended the throne by then.



The queen of Upēndra IV was Lakkāmbika. Shē gave birth to the greatest king of this dynasty, Viśvēśvaradēva. It is known from an inscription at Simhāchalam⁴³ that Lakkāmbikā gave birth to a daughter Ambikādēvī in addition to Viśvēśvaradēva.

Manumōpēndra was known for his fervent devotion to Śiva and Śaivism. He was mostly occupied with his struggle with Upēndra V for the occupation of the throne of Elamañchili. This family feud probably facilitated the conquest of this province by Anavēma in A.D. 1375. The Simhāchalam records enable us to know that the Eastern campaign of Anavēma Reddi came to an end by this year. His construction of 'Anavēmanagaru' in the temple of Nṛisimha and his occupation of many areas in this province show his authority in Madhyama Kalinga.

10. Upēndra Vi

Upēndra V was the eldest son of Chennīśvara. Though he tried hard for the throne in the time of his paternal uncle Manumōpēndra, success came to him only after Manumōpēndra's death probably in A.D. 1375. His son and successor's inscription⁴⁴ in A.D. 1377 leads to the conclusion that his own rule was limited to a brief spell of about two years.



But for Mummaḍāmbā's inscription,⁴⁵ his rule is little known from the available records. It is noticed in the inscription of Nṛsiṃhadēva,⁴⁶ the son of Upēndra V, that Upēndra V raised a village named "Upēndrāgrahāram" in his name. It is identified with the present village "Upmāka" near Nakkapalli in the Visākhapatnam District. In support of this identification might be urged the mention of 'Gōsthānam' in Kāvyalankāraśūdhāmāni, which is no other than Gōkulapāḍu, a village near Upmāka.

Taking advantage of the disputed succession of the Reddis, the Gaṅga monarch Narasiṃha IV recovered some of the lost territories in Madhyama and South Kāṭiṅga during this period. His success was, however short lived, for the Reddis soon became very powerful under Kumāragiri in A.D. 1390. All the attempts of the Gaṅgas failed to produce any permanent result of importance in the politics of Kāṭiṅga, because they were repulsed by the Reddis time and again.

The queen of Upēndra V was Atyamāmbā, by whom he begot three sons - Upēndradēva VI, Nāgēndradēva and Nṛsiṃhadēva. It seems that Upēndra V ruled under the Reddi suzerainty, as this province was under the Reddis from the period of the campaign of Anavēma.



11. Viśvēśvaradēva:

The greatest warrior born in this dynasty and the great patron of letters, was king Viśvēśvaradēva, the son of Lakkāmbika and Upēndra IV. He came to the throne probably from A.D. 1377, the date of his earliest inscription.⁴⁷

He is the first monarch that clearly mentioned the descent of his dynasty in inscriptions. He encouraged Vinnakōṭa Peddaya to produce an excellent Telugu Alankāra Śāstra viz., Kāvvalankāra Chūdāmaṇi to adorn literature for the first time. Viśvēśvaradēva had an unprecedented stature in the history of the Chālukyas of Elamañchili for many reasons.

Elamañchi Viśvēśvaradēva ruled from A.D. 1377 to A.D. 1391. But the inscription of Chōḍagaṅga⁴⁸ issued in A.D. 1391 and the reappearance of Viśvēśvara's inscriptions in A.D. 1401⁴⁹ and A.D. 1407⁵⁰ raise the question whether there was their conjoint rule from A.D. 1391 to A.D. 1407. In the Kāvvalankāra Chūdāmaṇi, also, there is a reference to this conjoint rule. It is said⁵¹ that he allowed his 'beloved one' to share the responsibilities of administration and that he busily engaged himself in the victorious battle-fields. Thus Viśvēśvaradēva had a reign of thirty years, during the later part of which Chōḍagaṅga, the younger brother of Upēndra V, became his associate ruler. Viśvēśvara's



sister Ambikādēvi is known from a record⁵² dated A.D. 1388 from Simhāchalam.

The records of his period mention him with the epithets Sarvalōkāśraya, Vishṇuwardhana, Rāya gaṇḍagōpāla and Dharaṇīvarāha. In addition to these four, the Kāvvalankāra Chūdāmaṇi refers to his numerous other titles like Rājanārāyaṇa, Karavālabhairava, Chālukyavibhu, Paragaṇḍabhairava, Sōmakulābdhichandra, Satyāśraya, Varēndra, Durjaya, Rājēndra, Chālukya svāmi, and Vishṇuwardhana-kulābdhi Chandra.

The main political event that occurred in the reign of Viśvēśvaradēva was the victory over the Āndhras at Sarvasiddhi near Elamañchili in A.D. 1402, which is corroborated by the literary evidence also. The Kāvvalankāra Chūdāmaṇi says that a group of kings 'Rāchakadupu' were defeated by king Viśvēśvara at Sarvasiddhi.⁵³ Sarvasiddhi lies at a distance of 10 kilometers south-west of Elamañchili.

The date of occurrence of that battle and the identification of the inimical Āndhra kings are discussed here. While editing the Pañchadhārāla pillar inscription,⁵⁴ J. Nobel made a note only about the occurrence of this event, but he did not trace the circumstances that must have led to it. The date of the battle corresponds to the cyclic year Chitra Bhā. He interprets the Śaka year in the inscription to mean 1325



by taking 'gati' to represent the numeral "five".

But the last figure must be 'four'; for, the word 'gati' stands for 'four' according to Sankhyārdhanāmaprakāśika by Kanuparti Venkatarama Sri Vidyananda; and Scholars like M. Somasekhara Sarma,⁵⁵ Chaganti Seshayya⁵⁶ and V. Yasodadevi⁵⁷ also accepted it as the correct equivalent figure. Epigraphical evidence from the Telugu country also indicates that the numeral "four" is represented by the word "gati". Since the cyclic year 'Chaitrabhānu' falls in Ś' 1324 and since the term used in the Kāvvalankāra Chūdāmaṇi in this context is "Chaturupāya" which definitely means 'four', it is certain that the last figure is 'four'. It may be pointed out that the author of the Panchadhārāla pillar inscription and the Kāvvalankāra Chūdāmaṇi was one and the same. The same cyclic year Chitrabhānu is referred to thrice by Vinnakōṭa Peddaya.⁵⁸

So in Ś' 1324 i.e. in A.D. 1402 Viśvēśvara had an overwhelming victory over some Āndhras near the above mentioned place, Sarvasiddhi. A number of stanzas in the Kāvvalankāra Chūdāmaṇi, describe this conquest of Viśvēśvara. Who were those Āndhra enemies? it is an interesting question. No light is thrown on this issue by records or in literature.



In this period, the Reddis of Rajahmundry under Kāṭayavēma were extending the boundaries of their kingdom especially in the direction of South Kalinga over which the control of the weak Gaṅga kings was practically non-existent. Circumstances are propitious for the Reddi conquest of Kalinga. This prospect is attested to by their inscriptions and literature; and the allegiance of the local dynasties like Matsyas of Oddādi and the Gaṅgas of Jantarnādu to the Reddis brightened their hope. The fort Vajrakūṭam which was added to the list of their conquered forts was not very far from Elamañchili. But in the expedition of A.D. 1402 the Reddis and their subordinate allies probably suffered a severe disaster at Sarvasiddhi at the Chālukyan hands under the heroic leadership of Viśvēśvara. Contemporary local chiefs might have helped him in this challenge. This is only an assumption and is not supported by any concrete evidence.

M. Somasekhara Sarna⁵⁹ thought that these inimical Āndhras might be the Velamas, the bearers of the title 'Āndhrēśvara', who also led expeditions of conquest into Kalinga. The same scholar opined⁶⁰ that Annadēva Chōḍa might have returned from Dēvarakonda at the head of a large army of the Rēcherla kings by way of Kalinga, at the time



when Kāṭayavēma was involved in conflict with Peda Kōmaṭivēma. There is reason to believe that he was opposed by the Chālukya subordinates of the Redḍi kings. As the whole country as far as Simhāchalam in the East, was conquered and annexed to the Redḍi kingdom, the province of Elamañchili should have been under the subordination of the Redḍi kings. On behalf of the Reddis, and probably on their appeal, Chālukya Viśvēśvara might have opposed and overcome the Rēcherla Chiefs entitled 'Āndhrēśvaras'. This presumption is strengthened by the fact that inimical relations existed for long between the Chālukya chiefs and the Velamas. In the Velugōṭivāriyamśavali,⁶¹ mention was made of a number of battles fought between the Chālukya chiefs and the Velama chiefs. In a battle at Jallipalli, a fort in Telangāna, in A.D. 1361, it is said that one hundred and one Chālukya chiefs with an army of five lakhs and sixty thousand were killed by Anapōta I and Māda I of the Velamas,⁶² who from that time bore the epithets 'Sōmakulaparaśurāma', 'Sōmavamśagrahaṇa', 'Sōmakularājavarganirdhūmadhāma', 'Chālukyabhūpala Vidālita', etc. In the reigns of the successive kings, a number of Chālukya chiefs were defeated and the figures of their heads were carved in the foot-stools of the Velamas.⁶³ This was the treatment meted out by the Velamas to the Chālukyas, a quarter of a century prior to



the period of Chālukya Viśvēśvara. All these humiliations heaped on Chālukya rulers must have been rankling in the mind of Chālukya Viśvēśvara; and naturally he might have avenged the insults by crushing the power of the Velamas when the opportunity came to meet them in his own area at Sarvasiddhi in A.D. 1402. As the two records of Rēcherlas viz., Anapōta I and Vēdagiri I in Sindhāchalam are respectively dated in A.D. 1380⁶⁴ and A.D. 1407,⁶⁵ there is every reason to believe that by this time these areas were frequently attacked by the Rēcherlas.

Or, with more certainty could these 'Āndhrēśvaras', whom Viśvēśvara referred to as his enemies, be identified with the Koppula chiefs, who styled themselves in their Dōnepūdi grant as the rulers of 'Āndhra Khaṇḍamaṇḍala'.⁶⁶ Though it cannot be said that this epithet is identical with the above said 'Āndhrēśvara' contemporary political events force the conclusion that both these titles pertain to the Koppula family. After the rule of Nāmayanāyaka (dated A.D. 1337) of the Koppula family with his capital at Piṭhāpuram, there is no information available about his successors. Owing to the pressures from the Western side the family might have moved towards the East, and it seems likely that they made 'Koppulavāri Kōṭhām' in the



Tuni taluq of the East Godavari district (which is not far from Yellamanchili) as their capital, in the later stages. A record in Simhachalam dated A.D. 1388 registers the offering of Ādulapalli (Āmdulapalli) to Lord Narasimhanātha for 'Pagamecchugandabhōga' by Muppamadēvi. This village is in the vicinity of Sarvasiddhi in Yellamanchili taluq. It is evident from this that the border areas were under the authority of the Koppula Chiefs; and Viśvēśvara who could not tolerate this aggression might have defeated and suppressed the Koppula chiefs in the battle of Sarvasiddhi. No reference can be found to those chiefs after that date. Moreover there are evidences in Kāvvalankāra Chūdāmaṇi to say that the battle took place at the sea-shore near Sarvasiddhi. Hence there is reason to suspect that the 'Āndhrēśvaras' who were defeated by Viśvēśvara in A.D. 1402 were no other than the Koppula chiefs.

Thus there is no clear evidence to identify the enemies, whom Viśvēśvara defeated. In the Kāvvalankāra Chūdāmaṇi also those enemies were not specified. But a stanza which deals with the conditions of the enemies, institutes a comparison to the Matsyas, the Pāṇdyas and the Draviḍas.⁶⁷ Viśvēśvara's wife was Manumayadēvī. Just as his mother Lakkāmbikā was described as Lakshmīdēvī, she was mentioned⁶⁸ as 'Maṇiputrikā' in the Kāvvalankāra Chūdāmaṇi.



The other important activities of this king Viśvēśvaradēva like the construction of monuments, patronage of literature and music etc. will be described later.

12. Chōḍagaṅgadēva:

The successor of Viśvēśvaradēva was Elamañchi Chōḍagaṅgadēva, the second son of Chennisvara. As known from his only inscription⁶⁹ at Simhāchalam, his date is A.D. 1391.

Owing to the pressure of the Reddi and Velama invasions of the time into this area, Viśvēśvara might have conceded Chōḍagaṅgadēva's claim to the throne in part and allowed him to be a conjoint ruler with him. Thus he avoided an internecine conflict and gained support from the family. From A.D. 1391 to A.D. 1407 Chōḍagaṅga was ranked as a conjoint ruler of Viśvēśvara; and from A.D. 1407, he ruled independently. His association with Viśvēśvara is obliquely referred⁷⁰ to in a stanza in the Kāvyalankāra Chūdāmaṇi. He was a reputed warrior and destroyer of enemies. He might have participated in the battle of Sarvasiddhi along with Viśvēśvara. V. Yasodadevi opined⁷¹ that this Chōḍagaṅga was named after Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga or one of the later Gaṅga princes bearing that name. As no inscriptions of this family mentioned any



suzerain power till now, it is difficult to assume their subordination to Gaṅgas in his reign. In the Velugōṭivāri Vamsāvali, it is said that one king Chālikya was defeated by Vēdagiri I (A.D. 1384-1410) at Māmidāla. Vēdagiri I's entry into this area is also corroborated by his Simhāchalam inscription dated A.D. 1407.⁷² But until now the name of the king whom Vēdagiri I defeated and the identification of the venue (Māmidāla) where that battle was fought are not known. If this Māmidāla can be identified with Māmidāda, in the Yellamanchilli Taluq, then Chōḍagaṅga might have been defeated by Vēdagiri, as he happened to be the Chālukya ruler at this time.

His inscription⁷³ records an offering of land to god Nṛisimha; and the land was located in 'Upēndravaram', the present 'upmāka', which was raised by his elder brother Upēndradēva V.⁷⁴

13. Upēndradēva VI:

The most insignificant personality in this dynasty is Upēndra VI, son of Upēndra V and the elder brother of Nāgēndra and Nṛisimha. None of his inscription is available; and this has led V. Yasodadevi⁷⁵ to ignore his reign and to extend the rule of his predecessor Chōḍagaṅga upto A.D. 1417, the earliest date of Nāgēndra. But as the



Pañchadhārī inscription of Nṛsiṃha mentions⁷⁶ Upēndra VI in the list of rulers in between Chōḍagaṅga and Nāgēndra, provision must necessarily be made for his rule.

As king Viśvēśvara ruled upto A.D. 1407, and as he was succeeded by Chōḍagaṅga and then by Upēndra VI consecutively before Nāgēndra, whose earliest date is A.D. 1417, the period of a decade (A.D. 1407-1417) has to be equally distributed between the two rulers, Chōḍagaṅga and Upēndra VI. So it can be stated that Upēndra VI ruled for nearly five years from A.D. 1412 to A.D. 1417.

By this time, a number of ruling powers like the Reddis, Velamas, Telugu Chōḍas and Eastern Gaṅgas contended to extend their sway over the border-areas; and their rivalry for supremacy necessarily involved the entire area of Elamañchili. N. Venkataramanayya⁷⁷ opined that the Gaṅga rulers came to the South of their dominions to check the expansion of the Rēcherla domains. In this attempt they failed. The death of Kumāragiri in A.D. 1403 split the Reddi kingdom of Koṇḍaviḍu into two hostile states under Kāṭayavēma and Peda Kōmaṭivēma, each attempting to dislodge the other from power. Besides, Kāṭayavēma attempted to expel Annadēvachōḍa from these areas. Vēma's son, Kāṭa, who married a daughter of Harihara II, the emperor of Vijayanagar, approached Dēvarāya I and solicited his help. All this happened around A.D. 1410. As a result



the Vijayanagar armies came to the Gōdāvarī delta to espouse on his cause. In this welter of conflicts for ascendancy around their areas, the Chālukyas of Elamañchili must have definitely taken precautionary measures for self-survival.

14. Nāgēndradēva:

Viśvēśvara or Chōḍagaṅga are not known to have left any sons; and hence Nāgēndradēva, the second son of Upēndra V had an easy access to the throne of Elamañchili. He bore the epithet 'Vishnuvardhana'.

His Pañchadhāra inscription dated A.D. 1417⁷⁸ mentions his queen Anyamadēvī. Another queen of his, Bhavānīdēvī, is mentioned in an inscription of Kumāra Eṇṇama,⁷⁹ son of Nāgēndra and Bhavānīdēvī. As no other records of Nāgēndra are available it can be stated that his reign might have lasted till A.D. 1422, the earliest date of his younger brother and successor Narasimhadēva.

15. Narasimhadēva:

Narasimhadēva was the last son of Upēndradēva V. He succeeded his brother Nāgēndradēva to the Elamañchili throne by about A.D. 1422. Like Viśvēśvaradēva he issued many grants,



making offerings to god Dharmalingēśvara of Pañchadhārāla. Those records yield information pertaining to his benefactions. He followed king Viśvēśvaradēva in recording the descent of his family. His inscription⁸⁰ of A.D. 1428 records a number of structures raised by him in the temple of Dharmalingēśvara. It is also said that a village was reared by him in his own name.

'Vishnuvardhana' and 'Sarvalōkāśraya' were the epithets mentioned in the records. His queen was Virāmbikā. Inscriptions mention⁸¹ her as a relative of a temple-dancer. Instances of this type of marriages with dancing girls are not uncommon among the contemporary ruling families. Similar are the cases with Kōta Kōta II and Velanāṭi Goṅka II.

His inscription of A.D. 1422⁸² shows his yearning for a child in his prayers in the temple of Dharmalingēśvara of Pañchadhārāla. But he is not known to have been blessed with a child; the succession to the kingdom passed to his brother's son Kumāra Erramanāyaka. He offered gift of lands to god Dharmēśa in the villages of Velchūr and Kaluvalapalle which are situated near Elamañchili. He ruled upto A.D. 1437, the last known date given in an inscription⁸³ at Pañchadhārāla.

The reign of king Narasiṁha was co-eval with that of the last Gaṅga emperor, Bhānudēva IV, with whom ended the Gaṅga



dynasty in A.D. 1434. During the weak rule of the last Gaṅga rulers, the armies of the Reddis happened to subjugate the entire region upto Simhāchalam. A record of Vēmareddi at Simhāchalam⁸⁴ dated in A.D. 1434, registering his remission of taxes on the lands of the Dēvas and Brāhmaṇas in places like Kaluvalanalle etc. in the vicinity of Elamañchili, points to the supremacy of the Reddis of Rajahmundry in these areas.

It seems certain that in the course of their invasions, Allāḍareddi and his sons (A.D. 1425) completely vanquished the Chālukya family at Elamañchili. A śloka in the Vēmavaram plates⁸⁵ of Allāḍareddi's son Vēmareddi, describing his conquests, figuritively alludes to it. Here is the English translation of the Sanskrit verse:

"By the flames emerging from the intense heat of valour of Allāḍa's son Vēmareddi, whole rocks were smashed into dust, hogs bellow in panic, the tender sprouts get scorched and wither, the fish-tribe and other aquatic creatures tremble and hide in water, the terror-stricken snakes sneak into their holes, the frightened cobras lurk in covert, the dared cattle disperse helter-skelter with grass in their mouths unmunched, the lord of the elephants rushes into the river". This verse describes how devastating the effect



of the fierce fire of Vēma's pratāpa was on the ruling princes of Kālīṅga.

In this verse the terms rocks, hogs, tender sprouts, the fish-tribe, snakes, cobras, cattle and elephants were symbolically used to represent either the emblems or the names of different dynasties ruling in the eastern region which was conquered by Vēmāreddi. They represent Śilā, Chālukya, Pallava, Matsya, Nāga, Sinda, Surabhī and Gajapativamsas. Dr. Lioner D. Barnett, the editor of the plates wrongly identified⁸⁶ hogs with the dynasty of Vijayanagar who maintained the Chālukya device of a boar. M. Somasekhara Sarma⁸⁷ corrected this statement by his identification of Chālukyas of Elamañchili with the emblem hogs. Thus the ślōka asserts the Reddi claim of suzerainty over the Chālukya family of Elamañchili also. But how far and how long the Elamañchili princes accepted and submitted to the Reddi overlordship is not known. It may be presumed that the kingdom of Elamañchili became a swinging ball between the Reddis of Rajahmundry and Gaṅgas of Kālīṅga; and that the occupants of its throne suffered the knocks of a buffer state,⁸⁸ from the victor from time to time.

16. Kumāra Erramanāyaka:

As the brothers of Nāgendra, Upēndra VI and Nṛisimhadēva had no sons, the birth of Kumāra Erramanāyaka to Nāgendra was



considered as the only hope of perpetuating the dynasty.

In his childhood, as known from his Panchadhārāla inscription dated A.D. 1432,⁸⁹ Errāmanāyaka made offering to various gods — Dharmēśvara of Panchadhārāla, Guṇḍēśvara of Peddāpuram, Bhimēśvara of Chāḷukya Bhīmavaram, Bhimēśvara of Drākshārāma and Markaṇḍēya Līṅga of Rājamahēndravara .

As these offerings were mentioned in that inscription and as Nṛisimhadēva's last inscription was dated A.D. 1437, V. Yasodadevi,⁹⁰ thought that Kumāra Errāma was probably the conjoint ruler with Nṛisimhadēva, though there is no definitive information to that effect. The record of A.D. 1432 at Pañchadhārāla,⁹¹ issued by Kumāra Errāma may be treated as a grant issued in his childhood i.e. in the period of his uncle Nṛisimhadēva. Kumāra Errāmanāyaka might have begun his rule in A.D. 1437, i.e., after the rule of Nṛisimhadēva, and continued upto A.D. 1494, the date of his son⁹² Siṅgarāja Mahāpātra. Thus, his rule lasted for a long period of fifty seven years. Though his inscription without any reference to his uncle Nṛisimha was found in A.D. 1432, five years before his accession, it is not deemed to belong to his own reign, and is attributed to the period of rule of his uncle.

Errāmanāyaka bore the epithets Karavālabhairava, Sōmakulēśvara, Sarvalōkāśraya and Vishṇuvardhana. His wife was Siṅgamāmba.



The Kalinga emperors, Kapilēśvara Gajapati and Purushōttama Gajapati were his contemporaries. Kapilēśvara usurped the throne of the last Gaṅga emperor Bhānudeva IV in A.D. 1434 and founded his dynasty in Kalinga. Moved by close affinity and amicable understandings with Gaṅgas this Chālukya family mustered help from the Matsyas of Oddādi and other subordinates and tried all means to place Bhānudeva IV again on the Gaṅga throne by challenging Kapilēśvara Gajapati. But all these attempts met with failure and the Gaṅgas could never recapture the power. Kapilēśvara subdued all these turbulent subordinates and rebels and brought the whole of Kalinga under his control. He successfully extended the kingdom subduing the Reddis, the kings of Vijayanagar, the sultans of Bahamani and the Rēcherlas.

Those were the critical days for the Chālukya branch at Elamañchili. Erramanāyaka might have tried to keep this area like a neutral state as in the times of the rule of the Gaṅgas. But he faced trouble from both sides. The Reddis of Rajahmundry incessantly tried to annex this Chālukya kingdom; on another side the Gajapatis cast eager look on it to bring it under their occupation. The policy of conquest and extension of Gajapatis was sure to affect him. To be on good terms with the Gajapatis, he owed allegiance to them though he did not acknowledge it in his records.



There is a possibility to believe that in his long reign he might have built a village Erravaram, adjacent to Elamañchili in North-West.

Not only the province of Elamañchili, but the entire land between the Gōdavarī and Simhāchalam suffered a lot of troubles in this period. As all these areas were ruled by feudal lords, bordering on two great powers Reddis and Gajapatis, it became compulsory for these chiefs to change their political loyalties frequently. The policy of the chiefs of Elamañchili is also not different from theirs. When these areas were under Reddis, the Gajapatis could not tolerate their hegemony. Similarly, the Reddis were jealous of Gajapatis when they held sway over them.

Though Erramanāyaka's reign lasted for fifty seven years it witnessed no great achievements to add to the stature of this dynasty. But to have retained hold on his throne in those critical times for so long a period was itself a remarkable feat of tact and diplomatic skill and personal valour. And these qualities won for him the accolade "Karavālabhairava", a rare rank in the dynastic history of Elamañchili Chālukyas.

17. Sīṅgarājamahāpātra:

Sīṅgarāja, the son of Errama Nāyaka and Sīṅgamāmbā,



succeeded his father by about A.D. 1494, the date of his Pañchadhārāla inscription.⁹³ In that record he was mentioned as Siṃhakṣamāpati and Siṅgarājamahāpātra. Provincial governors, Viceroys and subordinate rulers were known as 'Mahāpātras' under the Gajapati rule. As a result of the defeat of Erramanāyaka by Gajapatis, it might have become compulsory for Siṅgarāja to add to his name the suffix "Mahāpātra". This is a positive proof of his subordination to the Gajapatis.

In the same period in A.D. 1525, another inscription was found in Siṃhāchalā⁹⁴ with the name Sarvarāja, who was also a Sarvalōkāśraya Viṣṇuvarḍhana. There is no mention of him as the ruler of Elamañchili. But as his son Harinarēndra's inscription⁹⁵ is found in Pañchadhārāla, he can be considered to be a prince of this branch. From this it can be said that in the same period Elamañchili was under two rulers Sarvarāja and Siṅgarāja. They might have jointly ruled over this area. Or both these names belonged to one and the same person.

The contemporaries of Siṅga on the Gajapati throne were Purushōttama and Pratāparudra. No important incidents of this period are known.

It seems that adjacent to the village Erravaram reared



by his father, he raised a village 'Sīṅgavaram' either in his name, or in the name of his mother Sīṅgamāmba.

The reign of this Sīṅgarāja Mahāpātra lasted upto A.D. 1530, the earliest date⁹⁶ for his successor Śrīdhararājanarēndra.

18. Śrīdhararājanarēndra:

Śrīdhararājanarēndra is known as a Chālukya prince from his inscription at Pañchadhārāla dated A.D. 1530.⁹⁷ But there is no reference to his relationship with the remaining members of the branch in the available records. As V. Yasodadevi⁹⁸ presumes on chronological basis, he might be the son and successor of Sīṅgarāja.

His reign might have lasted upto A.D. 1538, the date⁹⁹ of Harinarēndra.

19. Harinarēndra:

The relationship of Śrīdhararājanarēndra with Harinarēndra is also not clearly known. From his Pañchadhārāla record¹⁰⁰ Harinarēndra is known as a Sarvalōkāśraya Viṣṇuvardhana and as a son of Svararāja, a corrupted form of Sarvarāja. As mentioned already, if Sīṅgarāja can be identified with Sarvarāja who is also a Sarvalōkāśraya Viṣṇuvardhana in the same period in the same area, it is not improper to assume that Harinarēndra was a brother of Śrīdhararāja even though it was not so mentioned anywhere.



Or, if both Siṅgarāja and Sarvarāja were different and conjoint rulers, Harinarēndra might have claimed the throne after the reign of Śrīdhararāja, the son and successor of Siṅgarāja, the conjoint ruler with his father. His only inscription is at Pañchadhārāla¹⁰¹ dated in A.D. 1538 which mentions his construction of a maṇṭapa in Pañchadhārāla in memory of his parents Svararāja Mahāpātra and Sarvādēvī.

His rule might have continued till A.D. 1599. He was the last ruler known in the line of this Chālukya family. As none of his successors is heard of, it might be that with him the Chālukya dynasty of Elamēṇchili came to an end. As almost all the rulers of this family are interested in raising villages after their names, it is believed that 'Haripālem' near Pañchadhārāla was reared by this ruler.

The real causes of and the conditions under which, the disappearance of the last rulers of this family took place are not known. But the frequent Muslim attacks in the country shook the roots of all the ruling families in these areas. An inscription in A.D. 1599 at Śrīkūrmam¹⁰² records that the Muslims killed Sarvarāja and others in the battle at Chintapalligaṇḍi, probably a place identified with that of the same name in the Visakhapatnam district. That inscription did not state specifically that the Sarvarāja killed in that



battle as Sarvalōkāśraya Sarvarāja of this Chālukya family. Since nothing is known after Harinarēndra's inscription dated A.D. 1538, it might be presumed that he ruled upto about A.D. 1570 or 1580 and might have been succeeded by Sarvarāja who was put to death in A.D. 1599 by the Muslim general Bairamlaman Mulk of the Sultanate of Gōlkonḍa. Thus the area around Elamañchili passed into the hands of Muslims.

Thus, Elamañchili which played a notable role in the political history of Madhyama Kalinga, was an important town and a semi-capital upto the end of the twelfth century. Amidst frequent wars among the Gangas, Reddis, Gajapatis, Rēcherlas and Telugu Chōḍas, these Chālukya rulers tried by all means to keep their hold in this area as rulers. For a continuous period of four hundred years they succeeded in exercising their authority over the area of Elamañchili a creditable performance which no ruling authority could claim either before or later.



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nīniya boḍḍu
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58. i) "Chaturupāya bāhusakti kshamāvali bāra vidichi
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59. History of the Reddi Kinodoms, p.175.
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68. Ibid., Ullāsa, 3, verse 50.
69. S.I.I., Vol. VI, No.705.
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82. Ibid., No.667.
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84. Ibid., No.1168.
85. E.I. Vol. XIII, p.252.
86. Ibid.
87. History of the Reddi Kingdoms, p.142.
88. It is believed that Dēvarāya II sent an expedition in A.D. 1428 to Rajahmundry to enable the Reddis to ward off an invasion of the Gajapati. This belief is based on an epigraph at Simhāchalām (A.R.E. No.293 of 1899). But N. Venkataramayya observed (Velugōtivarivamsāvali, Introduction, p.34) that that inscription does not allude to an expedition sent by the Vijayanagara power. The presence of its donor Sālūve Teluṅgarāya is taken to be an indication of the arrival of the Vijayanagar army in South Kēlīṅga.



89. S.I.I. Vol. VI, No.663.
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CHAPTER - V

THE CHĀLUKYAS OF NIDADAVŌLU

Another line of Chālukya rulers, claiming equal importance with any of the other Chālukya branches, is known from the inscriptions at places like Drākshārāma, Bhīmavaram, Juttiga, Pālakollu, Dendulūru, Bezwada, Kolanupāka and Kolanupāli. For about two centuries and a half, i.e. from the last quarter of the eleventh century to the first quarter of the fourteenth century, this branch of rulers exercised sway over portions of the Krishna, West Godavari, Nalgonda and Warangal districts. Though originally rulers of the areas of the Godāvarī tract like the Chālukya families at Jananāthapura and at Elamañchili, this family in its last stages migrated to the Telangāṇa areas. The marriage of the Kākatīya Empress, Rudramadēvī, with prince Virabhadra, son of Indusēkhara of this Chālukya family elevated its status among other contemporary local chiefs. They ruled some portions of the West Godavari and Krishna districts with capitals variously mentioned like Vāṅgī, Nidadavōlu, Tōlēru and Taḍikalapūḍi. As in the case of the Chālukya families of Mudigonda and Elamañchili, the names of capitals are pre-fixed to the names of these kings in their records. But the cause for this frequent shift of capitals from place to place is not definitely known. It may be considered as a sign of



their weak rule in these areas. Throughout their political career they maintained their authority by accepting, according to conditions that prevailed, the suzerainty of the Chālukyas of Jananāthapura, of the ~~the~~ Velanāṭi chiefs and of the Kākatiyas. Probably to strengthen their position, they contracted alliances by marriage with the Haihayas of Kōnamāṇḍala and the Kākatiyas of Warangal.

GENEALOGY AND CHRONOLOGY

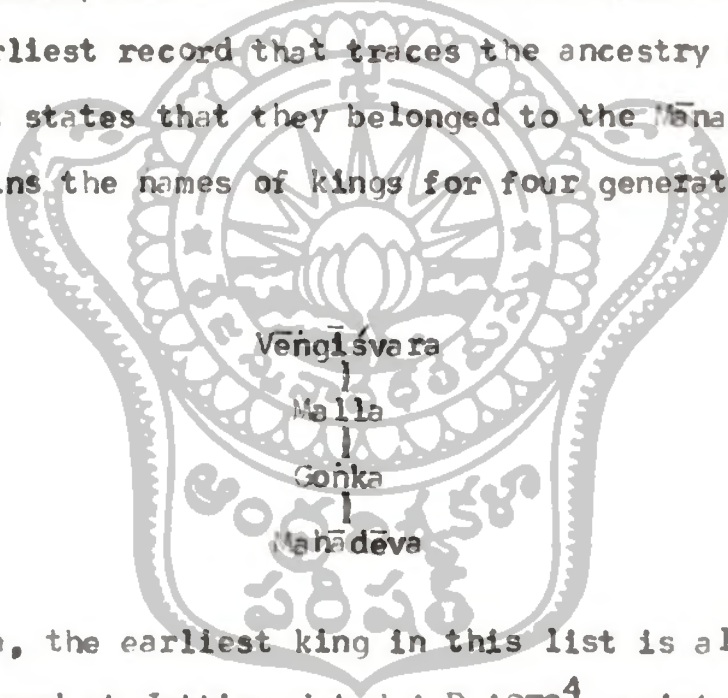
The emergence of the members of this family as rulers with independent or semi-independent status is known from the latter half of the eleventh century. Their history before that period, their origin and rise to power, are not clearly stated anywhere. M. Somasekhara Sarma and M.V.N. Aditya Sarma are of the opinion¹ that this family descended from Yuddhamalla II, son of Talarāja of the Chālukyas of Vēṅgī; and thus they presented a similarity in their succession to the throne to that of the Chālukya family at Jananāthapura, who claimed themselves as the descendants of Bēta Vijayāditya, the seventeenth ruler of the Chālukyas of Vēṅgī. But for a solitary epithet 'Yuddhamalla Vamśasamuddharaṇa',² nowhere did this family claim Vēṅgī Chālukya ancestry. Hence the available evidence is not sufficient either to accept or to reject the theory of their descent from Yuddhamalla.

Let us first assess the details of this family stated



in their records located at various places. The records mention only a few generations preceding the donor; and this is in contrast with the lengthy genealogies found in the inscriptions of other branches viz. of Vēmulaṇḍa, Mudigonda, Jananāthapura and Elamañchili.

An inscription at Bezwada dated A.D.1233 of Mahādēva,³ is the earliest record that traces the ancestry of these kings. It states that they belonged to the Mānavyasa-qōtra and contains the names of kings for four generations, as follows:



Vēṇḍīśvara
|
Malla
|
Goṅka
|
Mahādēva

Vēṇḍīśvara, the earliest king in this list is also known from a record at Juttiga dated A.D.1078⁴ registering a donation of his eldest daughter (name not known).

Another record at Bezwada dated A.D.1237⁵ mentions four generations of kings beginning with Goṅka (very likely the last but one ruler in the above list) and ending with Ayyapaḍēva, the donor of this grant.



Goṅka
↓
Ayyapaḍēva
↓
Gaṇapati
↓
Ayyapaḍēva

A record at Pālakollu dated A.D.1266 of Udayāmbikā,⁶ the mother of Chālukya Vīrabhadra, mentions briefly the mythical genealogy and states the names of three generations of rulers, as follows:

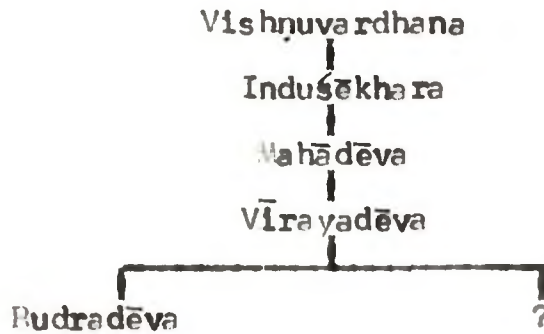
Vishṇuvardhana
↓
Induśekhara
↓
Vīrabhadra

Next, the Uttarēśvara grant of Induśekhara, issued in A.D.1290 in favour of Viddanadīkshita,⁷ gives the genealogy of this family for four generations, as follows:

Vishṇuvardhana
↓
Induśekhara
↓
Mahāḍēva
↓
Induśekhara

Lastly, the Kolanupalli inscription dated A.D.1311 of Rudradēva⁸ describes five generations from Vishṇuvardhana to Rudradēva as follows:



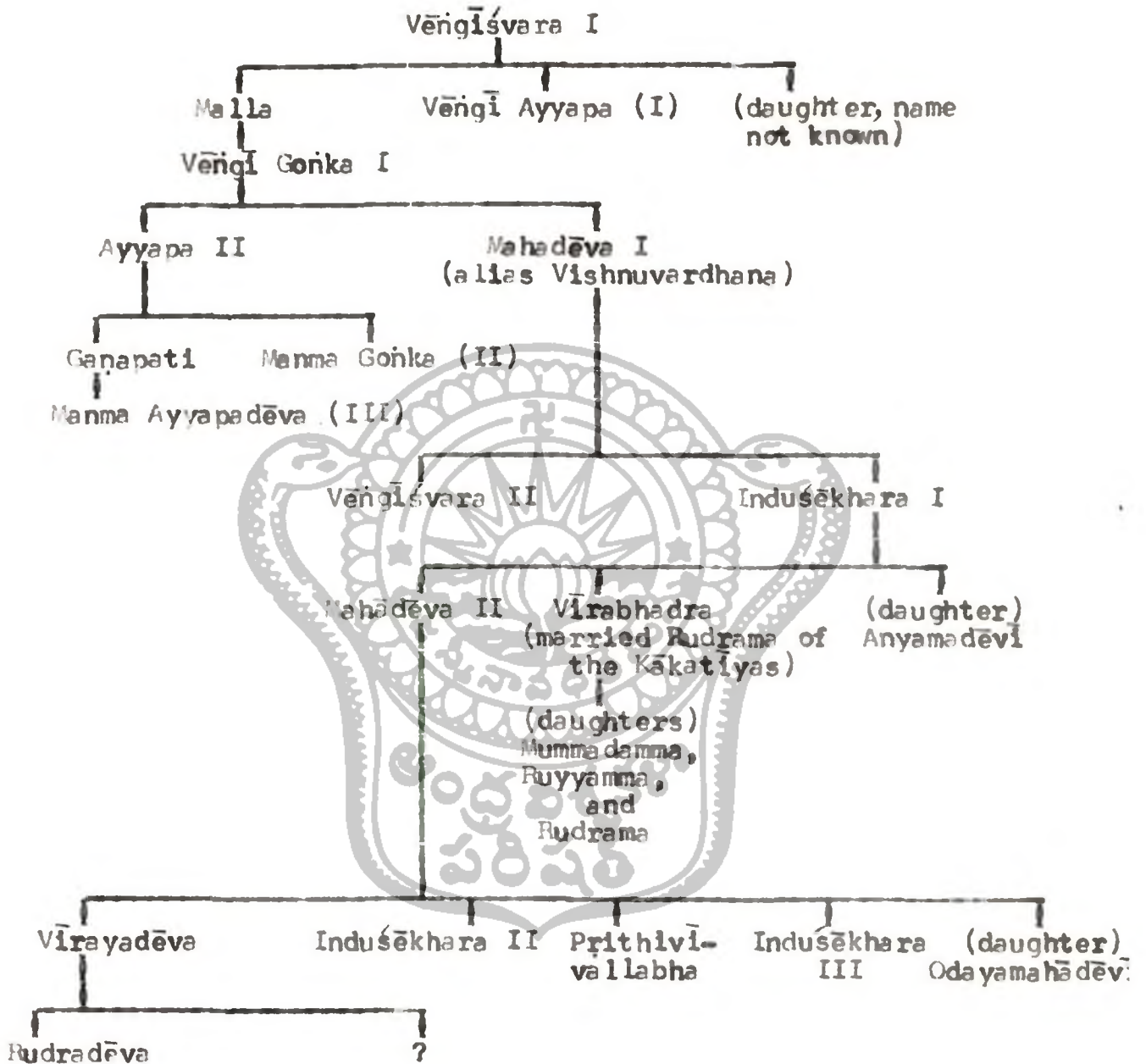


In this list, the first three generations are identical with those of the Uttarēśvara grant; and Vīrayadēva, the father of Rudradēva would be a brother of Induśekhara.

In addition to the above, there are records of kings like Malla (son of Vēṅgiśvara),⁹ Goṅka (son of Malla),¹⁰ Vēṅgiśvara (son of Mahādēva),¹¹ Vīrabhadra (son of Induśekhara)¹² and Prithivīvallabha (son of Mahādēva)¹³ and of princesses like Anyamadēvi (sister of Vīrabhadra)¹⁴ and Odayamahādēvi (daughter of Mahādēva)¹⁵, which just state the parental details of the respective donors. Besides these, there are rulers like Ayyapa and Maṇma Goṅka, who issued their own records and who claim a place in the present genealogy.

In the light of this information, we have to establish the genealogy of this branch of kings. By consolidating the details of all the genealogies given above, and by a study of the individual records of some of the rulers, the following genealogy can be formulated:





The following few points are to be considered in accepting the above genealogy:

- 1) Vēṅgī Ayyapa (I) is considered as a son of Vēṅgīśvara though not stated as such in any record, because he ruled in the same area in the successive period.¹⁶



- ii) Mahādēva I who is referred to as Vēṅgī Mahādēva in his own inscriptions is identified as Vishṇu-
vardhana, who is mentioned in the records of
his successors.¹⁷
- iii) Maṇḍa Goṅka (II) and Vēṅgīśvara II are provided
with places in this genealogy as they also ruled
in the same area in the same period.
- iv) Mahādēva II is considered to be an elder brother
of Virabhadra, contrary to the view of writers¹⁸,
who identified him as the younger brother of
Virabhadra. They might have based their view
on the details of the Kolanuṇḍa inscription of
Induśekhara II dated A.D. 1279, which mentions
Chālukya Virabhadra as the eldest in that family.
But the contents of this portion of the grant
being damaged, there is room for doubt. We may
accept the view of scholars¹⁹, who have identified
Mahādēva II as an elder brother of Virabhadra,
on the basis of a study of the order of dates
in the records of Mahādēva II, Virabhadra and the
sons of Mahādēva II.
- v) Lastly in this genealogy, the names of Prithivī-
vallabha and Induśekhara III are included, on
the basis of the mention of their rule and of the
dates given in their records and of the identity
of their fathers' names in this line.

Chronology:

Now to their chronology. As almost all records of the
rulers of this family were dated, there is little difficulty
in ascertaining their regnal periods. In the case of
rulers like Gaṇapati, Induśekhara I and Vīrayadēva, whose
records are not available, we have adjusted their regnal
periods on the basis of the dates of their predecessors
or successors as the case may be. Taking into account
the dates of inscriptions, the following tentative chronology



of the rulers may be formulated.

A.D.

Vēṅgīśvara I	:	1078-1129
Malla	:	1129-1150
Vēṅgī Ayyapadēva (I)	:	1141-1150
Vēṅgī Goṅka I	:	1150-1196
Ayyapadēva II	:	1193
Gaṇapati	:	1193-1212
Mahādēva I	:	1196-1233
Marma Goṅka (II)	:	1212-1230
Marma Ayyapadēva (III)	:	1230-1237
Vēṅgīśvara II	:	1233-1250
Induśekhara I	:	1238-1255
Vīrabhadra	:	1250-1266
Mahādēva II	:	1255
Vīrayadēva I	:	1266-1279
Induśekhara II	:	1279-1297
Prithivīvallabha	:	1297-1299
Rudradēva	:	1299-1311
Induśekhara III	:	1300

The date of the earliest ruler Vēṅgīśvara is known from an inscription of his daughter dated A.D.1078²⁰; and the earliest date of his son Malla is known as A.D.1129.²¹

Hence we are forced to allot a lengthy period of 50 years,



as the period of rule of Vēṅgīśvara. Where no records of a ruler are available, as in the case of Vīrayādēva, we have considered the last date of his predecessor as his initial year and the earliest date of his successor, as Vīraya's last date. But in the case of Gaṇapati in which a comparatively lengthy period of 37 years is found in between the last date of his predecessor Ayyapa II²² and the only date of his successor Maṇma Gaṇka²³, we have treated the date given in the record of his successor as the last date, and on that assumption equally divided that period of 37 years between Gaṇapati and Maṇma Gaṇka. Regarding Induśekhara I, whose records are not available and whose name is found in the records of his successors, we have considered him as a conjoint ruler with his brother Vēṅgīśvara II and with his sons Mahādēva II and Vīrabhadra. His elder brother Vēṅgīśvara II was on the throne upto A.D.1250²⁴ and immediately after him Vīrabhadra and Mahādēva II, the two sons of the Induśekhara, came to the throne. Hence it is not possible to allot individual period of rule for Induśekhara I. So we have treated him as a conjoint ruler with his brother Vēṅgīśvara II, and with his two sons Mahādēva and Vīrabhadra and fixed his period in between A.D.1238 and A.D.1255. Finally we have not allotted periods of rule to Ayyapa II, and Induśekhara III as their political careers are not clearly known. They might



remained as princes; they might not have aspired for the throne.

VĒNGĪŚVARA I (A.D.1078-1129)

Vēngīśvara is the first known ruler of this family. Though references to him are found in the inscriptions of his sons and grandsons, details of his rule are not known as none of his records is available. A record from Juttiṇa dated A.D.1078 refers²⁵ to a grant by "the eldest daughter of Vēngīśvara"; and this is the earliest known reference to this ruler. Vēngīśvara was mentioned in the inscriptions²⁶ of Malla and Mahādēva, his son and great grandson respectively. But the name of Vēngīśvara is not found in the records of his younger son Ayyapa I from Tadikalapudi²⁷ and Bezwada²⁸ dated A.D.1141 and 1150.²⁹

Vēngīśvara was both a proper name and a title connoting 'lord of Vēngī' and is synonymous with 'Vēngī Mahēśvara' or 'Vēngī Mahītalēśvara', the titles used by the rulers of this family. There is another ruler with the same name Vēngīśvara in this family, and hence we have treated the word Vēngīśvara as the name of this king. As his daughter's inscription is dated in A.D.1078 and as the records of his sons Mallapa and Ayyapadēva are dated in A.D.1129 and A.D.1141 respectively, Vēngīśvara is supposed to have ruled for roughly a period of fifty years in between A.D.1078 and 1129.



V. Yasodadevi also opined³⁰ that he ruled around A.D.1100. Except this, no more details of him are available. After Vēṅgiśvara, Malla, his elder son succeeded to the throne.

MALLA (A.D.1129-1150)

Malla issued only two inscriptions both being available at Drākshārāma with dates A.D.1129³¹ and 1149³² respectively. They mention his offering of lamps to God Bhīmēśvara. Of these, the earlier record mentions that the daughter of one Munnūti Perumadināyaka was the queen of this Malla. Though the date portion of this record is partly damaged, the cyclic year mentioned is 'Saumya'; and on that basis M. Somasekhara Sarma and M.V.N. Aditya Sarma correctly calculated³³ this as equivalent to A.D.1129. In the second inscription of Malla, which is dated in A.D.1149, the middle portion is illegible; but the general content of the record shows that it records the gift of lamp to God Bhīmēśvara for the merit of his father. Probably Malla ruled for 21 years i.e. from A.D.1129 to 1150. But V. Yasodadevi³⁴ allotted to him a lengthier period of 51 years; such an allotment is unwarranted as it is not corroborated by records. After his rule, his son Vēṅgi Goṅka came to the throne. Somasekhara Sarma and Aditya Sarma introduced³⁵ one Vijayāditya, the father of Viranarēndra, as another



son of Malla. But it does not seem to be correct. For Vijayāditya and Viranarendra belonged to the line of the Chālukyas of Jananāthapura and were in no way related to Malla of this family. The same scholars opined that Malla was a subordinate of the Chiefs of Velanāḍu. This assumption is open to doubt. The absence of any reference to his overlords in his records should not be understood as indicating his independence. He occupied a subordinate position, it is true; but the chiefs of Velanāḍu were not his masters. There are references in the records of his successors to their subordination to the Chālukyas of Jananāthapura. Hence we agree with V. Yasoda Devi, who considers them as the subordinates of the Chālukyas of Jananāthapura.

AYYAPADĒVA I (A.D.1141-1150)

Prior to the reign of Vēṅgī Goṅka, we find the inscriptions of his uncle Ayyapadēva I mentioning him as the ruling king. His two inscriptions, one from Taḍikalapūḍi³⁶ dated in A.D.1141 and another from Bezvada³⁷ dated in A.D.1150 mention him as 'Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara' and 'Mahārāja'. But in that period the kingdom was under the rule of Malla. We do not know how it became possible for both of them to rule the same areas simultaneously in the same period.³⁸ We do not know the details, if any, of his hostility



to Malla or of his conjoint rule with him. As the same name Ayyapa occurs among the later rulers of this family, Ayyapa I could have belonged to the same family.

VĒṅĠĠ GONKA I (A.D.1150-1196)

Vēṅḡ Gonka came to the throne in A.D.1149-50, the last date of his father Malla, and ruled for 46 years, i.e., upto A.D.1196. In the opinion of V. Yasodadevi³⁹ he jointly ruled with his father. He issued four inscriptions, one at Gaṇapavaram dated in A.D.1174,⁴⁰ another at Drākshārāma dated in A.D.1177,⁴¹ a third at Rajamundry dated A.D.1180⁴² and the last at Drākshārāma dated A.D.1196.⁴³ His Gaṇapavaram inscription records the gift of cows for the upkeep of a lamp in the temple of Svarnēśvara Mahādēva of Padminīpura; and for the first time it records the prāsasti of this family. It describes them as 'Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras', and 'Bhaṭṭipuravarādhiśvaras'; as belonging to 'Mānavyasaḡōtra'; as 'Hārītīputras', as 'descendants of Sōmavaṁśa', as 'the uplifters of Yuddhamalla Vaṁśa' and as 'the worshippers of Mallēśvara Mahādēva of Bezvada'. Basing on this record only, we have traced the early rulers of this family as belonging to the Chālukya family. This elaborate prāsasti and his title "the ruler of Shaṭsahasrāvani" clearly show that he was a capable ruler who established the kingdom in an organised



manner. In this endeavour, it seems that he was strongly supported by the Chālukyas of Jananāthapura; for, he acknowledged the suzerainty of one Vishṇuvardhana of that family. Vēṅgī Goṅka's minister, Tripurāntaka Preṇṇaḍa, mentions in his Drākshārāma record⁴⁴ the fourth regnal year of Vishṇuvardhana, who is identified with Sarvalōkāśraya Vishṇuvardhana Mallapa of the Jananāthapura family. The remaining two records at Rajamundry and Drākshārāma mention the various offerings made by Tripurāntaka Preṇṇaḍa and Valyama, his wife to god Virabhadreśvara and Bhimēśvara, during the period of Goṅka. The Rajamundry record, like the Gaṇapavaram record, gives the entire prasasti of Goṅkarāja. He bore the epithet 'Manyasimha'.⁴⁵ Under the assumption that these chiefs were subordinate to the chiefs of Velanāḍu, Somasekhara Sarma and Aditya Sarma think⁴⁶ that they took part in the successful expedition of the Durjayas of Velanāḍu into the territory of the Kākatīyas. It is evident, on the other hand, that Goṅka, during his period of rule, was content with efforts to raise the stature of his family among the other māṇḍalika families that ruled the coastal tracts of medieval Āndhra.

AYYAPADĒVA II AND HIS SUCCESSORS (A.D.1193-1237)

Vēṅgī Goṅka had two sons Ayyapa II and Mahādēva.

In the life period of Vēṅgī Goṅka, it seems that his elder son



Ayyapa II, either rebelled or joined as a conjoint ruler with his father. His inscription dated A.D.1193 from Telikicherla, W.G. District mentions him as the ruler of the area. His wife was Muppalamahādēvi. By her he had two sons Gaṇapati and Maṇma Goṅka (II). No records of Gaṇapati are available; and Maṇma Goṅka (II) issued only one inscription dated A.D.1230 at Telikicherla.⁴⁷ Gaṇapati had a son by name Ayyapadēva III or Maṇma Ayyapadēva. An inscription of the latter from Bezwada dated A.D.1237⁴⁸ mentions his offering of land in Eluru of the West Godavari District to Mallēśvara Mahādēva of Bezwada and praises his father Gaṇapati, as a capable ruler. This inscription points to his rule; and he is assigned a place in between Ayyapadēva II and Maṇma Goṅka (II). After him Maṇma Goṅka (II) came to the throne and his rule continued upto A.D.1230. An inscription from Telikicherla dated in that year mentions⁵⁰ his minister Nārāyaṇa. After him Ayyapa III occupied the throne. The date A.D.1237, found in his record at Bezwada⁵¹ is considered to be the closing year of his rule. An inscription from Tadikalapūdi in the West Godavari District mentions⁵² that that place was the capital of Vēṅgī-1000 country. Probably it was the capital of the rulers of this family off-shoot.

The conditions which permitted these early rulers to emerge as a political power in the 11th and 12th Centuries



are not clearly known. The continuous conflicts raging between the big powers like Chāḷukya Chōlas (assisted by the Velanāṭi chiefs) and the Chāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa might have facilitated the rise of local chiefs to importance. For reasons unknown, these early rulers were completely ignored by their successors in the line. Except in a record⁵³ of Vishṇuvardhana who could be identified with Mahādēva, the younger son of Vēṅgī Goṅka I, no mention was made of their predecessors in the records of the later period. They start their genealogy only with Mahādēva and nowhere give the details of his ancestors. This omission of the details of the earlier three generations led some scholars to think that Vishṇuvardhana alias Mahādēva was the first known ruler of the Niḍadavōlu Chāḷukya family. But from the available information, this branch could be deemed to have been established much earlier in the period of Vēṅgiśvara, i.e. in the last quarter of the eleventh century.

MAHĀDĒVA I (A.D.1196-1233)

Mahādēva I is the first prominent ruler in Niḍadavōlu Chāḷukya dynasty. In the inscriptions of the later period like the Uttarēśvara grant⁵⁴ and the Kolanupalli record,⁵⁵ the genealogy of this family, as already mentioned, begins with Vishṇuvardhana. He could be no other than Mahādēva I.



The three generations before Mahādēva I are completely ignored; and the genealogy of the family begins with him only. This glaring omission could not be due to ignorance about the earlier rulers. The name and fame acquired by Mahādēva I must have urged them to begin their genealogy with his prestigious name so as to gain a greater family stature. But the records of Mahādēva I, on the other hand, state the details of the earlier generations and thus enable us to connect the early rulers with this family. Though he is named as Mahadeva or Vēnol Mahādēva in his own inscriptions, his successors mentioned him as Vishṇu-wardhana only. As his successors repeatedly adopted his name 'Vishṇuwardhana' could be considered as a title; and Vishṇuwardhana I himself could be identified with king Mahādēva I. He succeeded his father Goṅka around A.D.1196 and ruled till A.D.1233, i.e. for a period of 37 years.

Only three inscriptions of his period, one from Taḍikalapūḍi of the West Godavari District and two from Bezwada of the Krishna District are available. His Taḍikalapūḍi record dated A.D.1208⁵⁶ mentions the offering of a lamp by his servant to God Haruṇīśvara Śrī Mahādēva of Aṇḍumballi. One of his Bezwada inscriptions⁵⁷ is undated, but it is useful as it contains an elaborate praśasti like the Gaṇapavaram inscription⁵⁸ of his father Goṅka. The praśasti



describes them as 'Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras', as 'Siddhipuravarādhiśva' as belonging to the Mānavyasagōtra and as Hārītīputras, as 'descendants of Sōmavāmsa', as 'the uplifters of Malla Vāmsa', as 'rulers of Shatśahasrāvani', and as 'the worshippers of Mallēśvara Mahādēva of Bezwada'. Another inscription from Bezwada dated A.D. 1233⁵⁹ is an incomplete record. It mentions his offering of a lamp to god Mallēśvara for the merit of his father.⁶⁰ In this record, the mythical genealogy of this family from Brahma to Purūrava is briefly traced and the three generations before Mahādēva are also mentioned. This is the only record in the early inscriptions of this family which traces its mythical genealogy. His titles 'dalītaripudarpa', and 'parabalaśādhaka' show that he was a valiant and distinguished warrior. The epithet 'Shatśahasrāvanīvalleḥha', glorifies this aspect ; and it might have been passed on to him as a hereditary title from his father Goṅka I. But the title 'Siddhi-puravarādhiśvara' evidently shows his conquest of Siddhipura and gives scope to think that he has extended his conquests to 'Shatśahasrāvani'. With this assumption V. Yasodadevi credited⁶¹ him with conquest over Velanāṭi chiefs whose political power became practically negligible by this time. She further noticed that the location of the records of Mahādēva at Bezwada suggests his conquests over the Telugu Pal-



of Guntur and Telugu Cholas of Konidena. The absence of strong rulers in those kingdoms might support the above view. But it is doubtful whether Mahādēva actually defeated any of those chiefs in the Kṛishṇa Valley. Location of his records in Bezwada by itself is not at all an evidence to justify the statement about his invasions into those areas, as there are records of this family in the same place from A.D. 1150 onwards also. Hence further evidence is required to bear out the military activity of Mahādēva in those areas. Siddhipura, a place over which Mahādēva claimed overlordship was evidently a town where he vanquished some of his enemies. K. Bhavayya Chowdari identified⁶² this town with Suddapalli near Tenali in the Guntur District, and V. Yasodadevi identified⁶³ it with Siddhapuram in Tadepalligudem Taluq of the West Godavari district. On the evidence of the location of the early records of the family, it is appropriate to identify it as Siddhapuram as suggested by V. Yasodadevi. Somasekhara Sarma and Aditya Sarma⁶⁴ infer from the title 'Bhaṭṭi-puravarādhiśvaras', which is in the praśasti of this family, that these chiefs were the lords of Bhaṭṭipura, the present Bhaṭṭiprōlu in the Repalle Taluq, Guntur district. Probably they stayed in that region before they rose to power again.



No other details of this king are known. Like the kings of the earlier period, he must have been loyal to the Chālukyas of Jananāthapura. But it was during the reign of Mahādēva, that the Kākatiya forces invaded the Eastern Coastal country. Kākati Gaṇapatidēva's commanders Rēcherla Rudri Reddi and Rājānāyaka took an active part in this campaign as is attested to by an inscription of Rājānāyaka in Drākshārāma dated A.D.1212.⁶⁵ It is not unreasonable to think that the petty chiefs in these areas who were disturbed by this campaign, might have transferred their allegiance to the Kākatiya conquerors. Somasekhara Sarma and Aditya Sarma supposed⁶⁶ that Mahādēva accepted the suzerainty of the Kākatiyas.

As stated already, the Telikicherla record of Ayyapadēva the brother of Mahādēva, described him as a ruler in the same period; and this forces us to assume that either he was a ruler of a small area around Telikicherla or he was a conjoint ruler with Mahādēva. It is not clear what his political relations were with Mahādēva.

Mahādēva had two sons viz., Vēṅgiśvara II and Induśekhara by his queen Śrīdēvī. The elder son, Vēṅgiśvara II seems to have succeeded his father in A.D.1233.



VĒNGĪŚVARA II AND INDUŚĒKHARA I (A.D.1233-1255)

Though Vēngīśvara II's records are available from A.D.1238 onwards, he might have succeeded his father Mahādēva I in A.D.1233, the last date of his father's records.⁶⁸ He issued only two inscriptions one from Kumāradēvam⁶⁹ in the Nidadavolu Taluc and the other from Denduluru⁷⁰ in the Eluru Taluc both in the West Godavari District. His Denduluru inscription records the construction of a temple with the addition of a mantapa and the consecration of a līṅga by his minister Veṅga in 1238.⁷¹ This was done with the permission of his overlord Vēngīśvara. His Kumāradēvam record dated A.D.1250⁷² is in a badly damaged state and it seems to have registered a gift of cows to a temple.

Vēngīśvara ruled the kingdom from A.D.1233 to A.D.1250; and in the latter part of his rule it seems that his brother Induśekhara I joined him as a conjoint ruler. As he is not in the main line, reference to him is not found in the records of his successors. The epithet 'Vēngīśvara' found in a record at Āchaṇṭa⁷³ dated A.D.1255 is attributed to Vēngīśvara II by Somasekhara Sarma and Aditya Sarma.⁷⁴ But, the term 'Vēngīśvara' in the inscription appears as a title to Pina Lakshmīrāja; and so it is doubtful whether he could be identified with Vēngīśvara II. It seems



that his younger brother Induśekhara I started his political career as an associate ruler with him.

As the rule of Vēṅgīśvara II ends in A.D.1250 and as the reign of Mahadeva II and Vīrabhadra begin in A.D.1255 and A.D.1250 respectively, we do not know clearly whether Induśekhara I ruled or not. None of his records is available. But his position in this line is traced from the stone inscriptions and copper-plate grants of his children and their successors. Two records from Pālakollu dated A.D.1261 and A.D.1266 of his daughter Anyamāmbā⁷⁵ and of his son Vīrabhadra,⁷⁶ Kolanupalli record dated A.D.1311 of his great grandson Rudradēva,⁷⁷ and the two copper-plate grants, viz., Uttarēśvara grant dated A.D.1290⁷⁸ and the Ōnapalli grant dated A.D.1292⁷⁹ both belonging to Induśekhara II, the grandson of Induśekhara I, refer to him as a ruler in this family. From this positive evidence, we have treated Induśekhara I as a conjoint ruler with Vēṅgīśvara II, Mahādēva II and Vīrabhadra in between A.D.1238 and 1255. He had two sons Mahādēva II and Vīrabhadra, and a daughter Anyamāmbā by his queen Udayāmbikā. Anyamāmbā was given in marriage to Kōṇa Bhīma of the Haihaya family. One notable event of some significance occurred in this period viz., Rudramadēvi, the heir-apparent and heroic daughter of Kākati Gaṇapati-dēva, was married to Chāḷukya Vīrabhadra, the younger son of Induśekhara I.



These matrimonial relations with the Kākatiyas and Haihayas show the growth in the political stature of the family. By this period the Chālukya kingdom of Jananāthapura to whom the Niḍadavōlu family owed allegiance and under whom it gained political power came to an end. And hence it became necessary for Vēṅgiśvara II and Induśekhara I to strengthen their position by forging direct links with powers like the Haihayas and the Kākatiyas. This wise step, dictated by foresight, enabled their family to continue its rule for one more century; and created opportunities for them to enter into the tracts of Telangāna, where this dynasty came to an end. Though no inscriptions of Induśekhara I are available, it is estimated that his strategy was responsible for facilitating the continuance in power of the later rulers of this family.⁸⁰

An inscription from Iragavaram⁸¹ in the West Godavari district dated A.D. 1247 refers to a grant by the minister of Sarvalōkāśraya Viṣṇuvardhana. Though the title Viṣṇuvardhana is not uncommon among the rulers of this family, there is a possibility to identify the Viṣṇuvardhana of that record as the ruler of Jananāthapura branch, to which the Chālukya rulers of Niḍadavōlu owed subordination.

MAHĀDĒVA II (A.D. 1255)

Mahādēva II was the elder son of Induśekhara I.



But as previously stated, some scholars like Khandavalli Lakshmiranjanam⁸² and Turaga Krishnamurti⁸³ identified him as a younger son of Induśekhara. No doubt, the Kolanupāka inscription⁸⁴ of Induśekhara II dated A.D.1279 states that Chālukya Vīrabhadra, the brother of Mahādēva II, was the eldest in this family (Jyēstaschālukya Vamsārnava). But as this portion of the grant is in a damaged state, its content yields room for doubt. And scholars like P. Sreenivasachar,⁸⁵ M. Somasekhara Sarma, M.V.N. Aditya Sarma,⁸⁶ C. Somasundara Rao and Pratibha Chinnappa⁸⁷ identified this Mahādēva II as the eldest son of Induśekhara. Moreover, the respective order of dates in the records of Mahādēva II, of Vīrabhadra, and of the sons of Mahādēva II suggest that Mahādēva II could be elder than Vīrabhadra. Hence Mahādēva II may be regarded as the elder son of Induśekhara. V. Yasodadevi⁸⁸ identified, by mistake, this Mahādēva II with his namesake, the husband of Mummedāmbā, the Kākatīya princess, and considered him as the last Chālukya ruler of the Niḍadavōlu branch.

There is only one inscription⁸⁹ of this period which mentions a gift made, for the merit of Mahādēva, by his servants to God Vāsuki Ravi Sōmēśvara Mahādēva of Juttiga in A.D.1255.⁹⁰ Mahādēva might have ruled for a short period after the death of his father, either conjointly



with Virabhadra or independently. The former assumption is more probable as there are evidences for the rule of Virabhadra from A.D.1250 onwards. In this period, it seems that they continued to be subordinate to the Chālukyas of Jananāthapura for he acknowledged the regnal years of Sarvalōkāśraya Vishnuvardhana in this record.⁹¹ Though it did not mention other particulars of Sarvalōkāśraya Vishnuvardhana, two other records, one of the same date from Achara,⁹² and the other from Juttiga,⁹³ give the regnal years of Vishnuvardhana. It also styles him as Vijayādityadēva Chakravartī, the ruler of the Chālukya branch at Jananāthapura.

The sons of Mahādēva II played a notable role in the politics of the later period, as they became heirs to the kingdom after the rule of Virabhadra.

No record mentions the exact number of his sons and daughters. The two copper-plate grants, the Uttarēśvara grant dated A.D.1290⁹⁴ and the Onapalli grant dated A.D.1292,⁹⁵ the Kolanupāka inscription dated A.D.1279⁹⁶ and the Pālakollu inscription⁹⁷ dated A.D.1300 state that Induśekhara was the son of this Mahādēva Chakravartī. But in the Kolanupāka inscription the name of his mother is stated as Lakkāmbā whereas the Pālakollu record gives her name as Bhīmīndēvi. From this it could be gathered that Mahādēva



had two wives Lakkāmbā and Bhīmīndēvi and that each of them bore him a son of the same name, Induśekhara. Besides them a few others figure as his children, viz., Prithivīvallabha as seen in his Mallipūḍi record⁹⁸ dated A.D.1297, Odayāmbādēvi as noticed in her records from Pālakollu dated A.D.1296,⁹⁹ 1300¹⁰⁰ and 1306¹⁰¹ respectively, and lastly Vīrayadēva who is mentioned in his son Rudradēva's Kolanupalli inscription¹⁰² dated A.D.1311. Hence altogether Mahādēva had four sons, Vīrayadēva, Induśekhara II (by queen Lakkāmbā), Induśekhara III (by queen Bhīmīndēvi) and Prithivīvallabha; and had a daughter Odayamahādēvi who was given in marriage to Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Kōṇa Gaṇapatidēva of the Haihaya family. Among these, we have treated Vīrayadēva, Prithivīvallabha and Odayamahādēvi as children by queen Lakkāmbā in addition to Induśekhara II, because of their connections with Kākatiyas and Haihayas. Only Induśekhara III of the Pālakollu record has been treated as the son of Bhīmīndēvi and as the off-shoot of the family.

VIRABHADRA (A.D.1250-1266)

An important ruler who enhanced the fame and prestige of the Chālukya family of Nidadavōlu among contemporary families is Vīrabhadra, the son of Induśekhara I and Udayāmbā. The mighty Kākatiya Emperor Gaṇapatidēva, who extended his empire over the entire Āndhra chose him



as his son-in-law and gave his daughter Rudramadēvī in marriage to him. This alliance enhanced the royal status of these Chālukya princes, and contributed to their continuance in power at least for some more decades in Telangāna.

As stated already, though some scholars opined¹⁰³ that Virabhadra was the elder brother of Mahādēva II, there is greater justification for considering Mahādēva II as the elder brother of Virabhadra.¹⁰⁴

Only three inscriptions could be assigned to Virabhadra. They hail from Juttiga,¹⁰⁵ Pālakollu¹⁰⁶ and Narasapur.¹⁰⁷ The Juttiga inscription is dated in A.D.1259 and it mentions the gifts made by his minister Vishṇu to God Sōmēśvaradēva. It states¹⁰⁸ that Virabhadra married Rudramadēvī, the charming and beautiful daughter of the Kākatiya emperor, Gaṇapatideva. It clearly states that Virabhadra ruled these areas, and conquered a number of enemies in various battles and established sway over the earth.

What happened actually in the last years of Virabhadra is not known. There is no reference to him in the Pālakollu inscription¹⁰⁹ dated A.D.1275 of his sister Anyamadēvī. In A.D.1266 his mother Udayāmbikā offered¹¹⁰ gifts in the temple of Kshīrārāma at Pālakollu for the 'Pūnyasamprāpti'



of Vīrabhadra; and it might be presumed in that year he passed away. As the fifteenth regnal year is the highest recorded duration of his rule and A.D.1266 his last date, it is supposed that he came to the throne around A.D.1250. By that time the kingdom was under the conjoint rule of his uncle Vēṅgīśvara II and of his father Induśekhara I. Hence we have assumed that he was successor to the place of Vēṅgīśvara II in A.D.1250, and that he became a conjoint ruler with his father. But in A.D.1255 the record of Mahādēva II mentions him as the then ruler and hence we have assumed that Mahādēva II succeeded to the place of Induśekhara I and joined as a conjoint ruler with his brother Vīrabhadra. Thus in the scheduled period of 5 years, i.e., in between A.D.1250 and 1255, the rule of Vēṅgīśvara II and Induśekhara I came to an end, and the rule of Vīrabhadra and Mahādēva II had begun.

Vīrabhadra and Rudramā had only three daughters Mummaḍāmbā, Ruyyamā and Rudramā.¹¹¹ Mummaḍāmbā was married to a prince Mahādēva, Ruyyamā to Indulūri Annayadēva of the Kolanu dynasty and Rudramā to a Yādava prince Ellanadēva.¹¹²

The Kolanpāka record¹¹³ of Induśekhara II praises Vīrabhadra in very high terms. It states that by the fortune of the whole universe queen Rudramadēvī got a consort by name Vīrabhadra, "who made the moon and the Sun dull



by his beauty and brilliance, whose proficiency the sensible servants know, to whose great munificence the concourse of eager supplicants are alive, of whose strength the discerning kings are aware, and of whose prowess the calculating enemy kings fear".

VĪRAYADĒVA AND INDUŚĒKHARA II (A.D. 1266-1297)

After Vīrabhadra, the Chālukya kingdom of Niḍadavōlu came under the rule of the sons of his elder brother and conjoint ruler Mahādēva II. As they were the loyal subordinates of the Kākatiya power, and as they belonged to the family of Vīrabhadra, the Kākatiya rulers seem to have refrained from intervening in their affairs of succession. Until now the exact details of the family of Mahādēva II are not known. Somasekhara Sarma and Aditya Sarma observed¹¹⁴ that he had two sons Indusekhara and Vīrayadēva and one daughter Odayamahādēvī. But on the strength of various inscriptions, we have advanced the view that Mahādēva II had two wives Lakkāmbā and Bhīmīndēvī and, by them, had four sons and one daughter. Lakkāmbā bore him three sons Vīrayadēva, Induśēkhara II, Prithivīvallabha and a daughter Odayamahādēvī; and Bhīmīndēvī bore him a son Induśēkhara III.

Vīrayadēva succeeded his uncle Vīrabhadra to the



Chālukya throne of Nidadavōlu probably in A.D.1266.

Though none of his records is available, reference to him is found in the Kolanupalli record¹¹⁵ of his elder son Rudradēva. As noted in the chronology of these rulers, his rule might have continued upto A.D.1279 the earliest date of his brother Indusēkhara II. Nothing is known about his other achievements.

Indusēkhara II succeeded his brother Virayadēva around A.D. 1279 and ruled till A.D.1297, the date of his younger brother Prithivīvallabha.¹¹⁶ He issued three inscriptions one being a pillar inscription located in the temple of Sōmanātha at Kolanupāka in the Nalgonda district, and the other two being copper-plate grants of Uttarēśvara and Onapalli, which register the gift of villages in the West Godavari district.

The Kolanupāka inscription¹¹⁷ dated A.D.1279 records the construction of a canal by name 'Vamśavardhana' in Kollipāka by a minister of Indusēkhara Pōtināyaka, son of Māchināyaka and Mādāchi. In addition to the details about Indusēkhara, this record traces the genealogy of Kākatīyas from Prōla II to Rudramadēvī. It is not uncommon for the overlords to be described in the records of their subordinates. But it is a moot question why the death of Virabhadra, the prince-consort of Rudramadēvī, is not referred to in this



record, even though he passed away before this date? Uttarēśvara copper-plate grant¹¹⁸ which is dated in A.D.1290 registers the gift of a village Uttarēśvara to the learned scholar Viddanācharya. The Ōnapalli grant¹¹⁹ dated A.D.1292 registers the gift by Induśekhara II of the village of Ōnapalli with ashta-bhōgas to the above donee Viddanācharya.

These records reveal not only the dynastic details of Induśekhara II and the other cultural conditions of the period, but also the strong political affinities between this family and the Kākatīyas. The Chālukya power of Jananāthapura under whose shelter this Nidadavōlu family flourished until then, came to an end during the reign of Induśekhara I. In this period the Kākatīya emperor Gaṇapatidēva made efforts to bring the entire Āndhra under his banner. The Chālukya chiefs probably realised that they could not survive individually in contemporary politics without the support of a big power, and as Vīrabhadra's marriage brought them nearer to the Kākatīyas, they readily accepted the supremacy of Gaṇapatideva. Somasekhara Sarma and Aditya Sarma opined¹²⁰ that these chiefs enjoyed independent status in the regions of West Godavari district, by virtue of their marital relationship with the Kākatīya monarchs. It is evident that the Kākatīyas did not



intend to exercise imperial power to the disadvantage of the māṇḍalika chiefs. The Kākatiya polity relating to their relations with the subordinates favoured power-decentralization. In the estimation of Parabrahmma Sastry,¹²¹ the Kākatiyas proved that this novel experiment was almost successful. But they did not adopt this policy universally. Owing to the nearness to their capital of Warangal, they never permitted any of their subordinates in Telanḡāṇa to remain as an independent power. But in the coastal districts they allowed the ruling chiefs a semi-independent power to rule their areas. They were free to enjoy power in all respects except in military matters. The Kākatiya rulers seemed to have maintained statusquo of the māṇḍalika system, which was deep-rooted in that region. The only concern for the Kākatiyas was to check excessive exercise of power by the subordinate chiefs. Kākatiya officers were always there, spread throughout the kingdom, to supervise the conduct of these subordinates. Though it is not customary among the subordinates to owe subordination to a supreme ruler, Induśekhara II acknowledged the Kākatiya supremacy in all his grants. Owing to his close contacts with the rulers of the Kākatiya family, it seems that he was entrusted with some important administrative work. The Kolanupāka record reveals that he constructed a canal by name



'Vamśavardhana' in Kolanupāka in the Warangal district. Basing on this, Parabrahma Sastry¹²² thought that he was placed incharge of Kollipāka for sometime.

Induśekhara II's rule was probably limited to the areas round Tanuku in the West Godavari district, and almost all the villages mentioned in his grants are identified in the same vicinity.

It is interesting to note that some of the early members of the Indulūri family who served Kākatīyas as ministers, were under the service of the Chālukyas of Niḍadavōlu. The Śivayōgasāraṃ informs¹²³ us that Ballapreggaḍa, son of Nūṅkanārya of the Indulūri family who belonged to Harita-gōtra and Apastāmbha-sūtra, was the minister of the kings of Niḍadavōlu. Balla Preggaḍa's son, Nāgamantri is said to have borne the burden of the kingdom of the rulers of Niḍadavōlu.

After Induśekhara II, his brother Prithivīvallabha entitled Sarvalōkāśraya Viṣṇuvardhana seems to have ruled the kingdom for a short period. An inscription from Mallinūḍi in the West Godavari district dated A.D. 1297¹²⁴ mentions him as a son of Mahādēva and registers his gifts to the temple of Agastyēśvara. Though no reference to him is found in the other records of the family, his relationship



with Mahādēva shows that he was a brother of Induśekhara II.

In addition to the three sons mentioned above, Mahādēva II and Lakkāmbā had a daughter Odayamahādēvī, known from her inscriptions at Pālakollu dated A.D. 1296,¹²⁵ 1300¹²⁶ and 1306¹²⁷ respectively. She was given in marriage to Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Kōṇa Gaṇapatiḍēvarāja of the Haihaya family. In her last record she registers the gift of land for the upkeep of a lamp in the temple of Kshīrārāma for the merit of her parents.

An inscription at Pālakollu dated A.D. 1300¹²⁸ introduces one Tōlēṭi Induśekhara, the king who bore the epithets 'Sarvalōkāśraya' and 'Vishṇuwardhana'. He was stated to be the son of Vishṇuwardhana and Bhīmīndēvī. V. Yasodadevī identifies¹²⁹ him by mistake with his namesake Induśekhara II. But as stated already, there is a difference in the names of the mothers. No doubt Mahādēva II is referred to only with his epithet 'Vishṇuwardhana' and his personal name is not mentioned in this record also; but the Kolanupāka inscription¹³⁰ clearly states that his wife was Lakkāmbā. Contrary to it, this Pālakollu record¹³¹ of Tōlēṭi Induśekhara mentions his mother's name as Bhīmīndēvī. Hence it is reasonable to consider him as another son of Mahādēva II but by queen Bhīmīndēvī, whose details are not known in the records of the rest of the family. The prefix 'Tōleru' to the



name of this Induśekhara III refers probably to the name of his capital, which is in the present Bhimavaram Taluq of the West Godavari district. The land he offered to the God of Kshīrārāma viz., Pālakoilu, lies in the same district. Nothing of his relationship with the rest of the family is clearly known. According to Khandavilli Lakshmiranjanam¹³² this Induśekhara III might have been a subordinate either to the Niḍadavōlu family or to the Haihayas of Kōna.

LAST DAYS OF THE FAMILY

During this period a grave danger shook all the Hindu kingdoms. It made its appearance on the frontier of Telangāna.¹³³ The Seuna capital Devagiri was attacked and seized in A.D.1295 by Garsash Malik alias Alā-ud-Dīn. The then Kākatiya ruler, the far-sighted Pratāparudra anticipated such danger from the Muslims and hence reorganized the defences of his kingdom; and as a part of it he might have invited the Chālukya chiefs of Niḍadavōlu to attend to that work. Being faithful subordinates and relatives, these Chiefs moved to Telangāna to save the situation. This migration must have been the cause for the absence of their records in their native home in West Godavari District. The records of the Kolanu chiefs, who served as loyal



supporters to the Kakatiyas are also not found from this period. From it is evident that all trusted generals and loyal subordinates went to Warangal and strengthen defence. The subordination of these later rulers to Kākatiyas is strongly attested to in the Kolanupalli record¹³⁴ dated A.D.1311 of Rudradēva, the elder son of Virayadēva and grandson of Mahādēva II. He was in the service of Kākati Pratāpa Rudra, and he made over the taxes levied on certain communities of the village in favour of the God Mallanāthadēva of Kolanupalli, in Warangal District. With this evidence, it is possible to state that the support of these chiefs continued till the downfall of the Kākatiya power.

The earliest of the Muslim invasions of Warangal was that of Al-ud-din in A.D.1303 under the command of Malik Fakhr-Ud-Din. Velunōtivarivamsāvali states¹³⁵ that the pride of the 'Turushkas' was destroyed by the Kākatiya armies. To avenge this disaster suffered by the Muslims, Ala-ud-din despatched a large army in A.D.1309 to conquer Warangal. The siege continued for weeks together and the Kākatiyas had no alternative but to sue for peace. Despite his preparedness, Pratāparudra failed to score success. This defeat was a blow to his prestige and exhausted his financial resource. It resulted in paying enormous tribute



to the Sultan of Delhi. The continuous warfare between the Muslim generals and the Kākatiyas came to an end only with the captivity and death of Pratāparudra in A.D.1323. The Muslims occupied the region for two years.

In these changed circumstances, there is no clear evidence as to what happened to the Chālukya chiefs. As the country suddenly passed into the hands of rulers of an alien race and religion, they might have saved themselves for the time being by accepting subordination to Muslims. But within a short period they seem to have established small principalities in the region of Telangāna with capitals at places like Jallipalli.¹³⁶ This might be considered as their last attempt to revive their political power. To some extent they were successful; they could survive by capturing a shelter for themselves; but their authority was lost.

The Veluōtivarivamsāvali, the eulogy on the Velama chiefs, credits Siṅga I (A.D.1350) and his two sons Anapōta I and Māda I (1360-1384) with the capture of the fort of Jallipalli.¹³⁷ Though Siṅga I was killed in a battle in A.D.1360-61, his sons conquered Jallipalli, killed a number of Chālukya princes and took a number of titles like 'Sōmakulaparaśurāma'.¹³⁸ The significance of these titles



of the Velama chiefs has not so far been assessed, as no Chālukya family ruling the area of Jallipalli has come to light. But the inscription at Kolanuballi,¹³⁹ shows the Chālukya authority over Telangāṇa; and it can be inferred that the Chālukyas vanquished by the sons of Singa I were probably the descendants of those Niḍadavōlu chiefs. The Velugōtivarivamsāvali narrates¹⁴⁰ that Anapōta I and his brother Māda I seized Jallipalli, captured the fort and massacred the Chālukya Chiefs in A.D. 1361. They are said to have performed the last rites of their father after the victory and offered libations to his spirit with the blood of these massacred Chālukyas. Thus the strong aversion of the Velama chiefs put an end not only to the fortunes, but to the lives of these Chālukyas themselves.



REFERENCES

1. J.A.H.R.S., Vol. XXXV, p.421.
2. S.I.I., Vol. X, No.191.
3. Ibid., Vol. IV, No.736.
4. V.R., Vol. II, No.345.
5. S.I.I., Vol.VI, No.96.
6. Ibid., Vol. V, No.122.
7. Bhāratī, June, 1976, p.20.
8. Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Warangal District, No.87.
9. S.I.I., Vol. IV, Nos.1076 and 1116.
10. Ibid., Nos.1168, and 1218.
11. Ibid., Vol.VII, No.737.
12. Ibid., Vol. V, No.122; X, No.360.
13. Ibid., Vol. X, No.481.
14. Ibid., Vol. V, No.123.
15. Ibid., Nos.124, 125 and 127.
16. J.A.H.R.S., Vol. XXXV, p.421.
17. As a number of his successors repeatedly bore the epithet 'Vishnuvardhana', and as the name Mahādēva is found among the later rulers of this Chālukya family alone, that title is considered very likely as that of Mahādēva I.
18. Bhāratī, Oct ., 1970, p.34; and Feb.1971, p.38.
19. J.A.H.R.S., Vol. XXXV, p.421; and Bhāratī, June, 1976, p.20.
20. V.R., Vol. II, No.346.
21. S.I.I., Vol. IV, No.1076.
22. A.R.E., No.280 of 1930-31.



23. Ibid., No.275 of 1930-31.
24. Ibid., No.250 of 1935-36.
25. V.R., Vol. II, No.345.
26. S.I.I., Vol. IV, Nos.1116, and 736.
27. Ibid., Vol. V, No.207.
28. Ibid., Vol. IV, No.771.
29. Scholars like M. Somasekhara Sarma and M.V.N. Aditya Sarma identified this Ayyapa as the younger son of Vēṅgiśvara. In the absence of other evidences, we have accepted the above identification as he belonged to the same period.
30. J.A.H.R.S., Vol. XXI, p.66.
31. S.I.I., Vol. IV, No.1076.
32. Ibid., No.1116.
33. J.A.H.R.S., Vol. XXXV, p.421.
34. Ibid., Vol. XXI, p.66.
35. Ibid., Vol. XXXV, p.421.
36. S.I.I., Vol. V, No.207.
37. Ibid., Vol. IV, No.771.
38. V. Yasodadevi calculated that Ayyapadēva ruled for fifteen years, i.e. from A.D.1178 to 1193. She considered the above records of Ayyapa as belonging to the period of his association with his elders to gain experience in the art of administration.
39. J.A.H.R.S., Vol. XXI, p.66.
40. S.I.I., Vol. X, No.191.
41. Ibid., Vol. IV, No.1168.
42. A.R.E., No.36 of 1912.
43. S.I.I., Vol. IV, No.1218.



44. Ibid., No.1168.
45. Ibid., No.1218.
46. J.A.H.R.S., Vol. XXXV, p.421.
47. A.R.E., No.280 of 1930-31.
48. Ibid., No.273 of 1930-31.
49. S.I.I., Vol. VI, No.96.
50. A.R.E., No.273 of 1930-31.
51. S.I.I., Vol. VI, No.96.
52. Ibid., Vol. V, No.195.
53. Ibid., Vol. IV, No.736.
54. Bharati, June, 1976, p.20.
55. Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Warangal District, No.87.
56. S.I.I., Vol. V, No.203.
57. Ibid., Vol. IV, No.733.
58. Ibid., Vol. X, No.191.
59. Ibid., Vol. IV, No.736.
60. The date mentioned in this record is a chronogram 'dvibāṇa śiva śākābdē' which is equivalent to Ś.1155. But the Government Epigraphist. (A.R.E. No.281 of 1892) M. Somasekhara Sarma and M.V.N. Aditya Sarma (J.A.H.R.S., Vol. XXXV, p.421) calculated 'dvibāṇaśiva' as 1152, instead of 1155.
61. J.A.H.R.S., Vol. XXI, p.66.
62. Karmavāri Charitra, p.114.
63. J.A.H.R.S., Vol. XXI, p.66.
64. Ibid., Vol. XXXV, p.421.
65. S.I.I., Vol. IV, No.1117.



66. J.A.H.R.S., Vol. XXXV, p.421.
67. A.R.E., No.280 of 1930-31.
68. S.I.I., Vol. IV, No.736.
69. A.R.E., No.250 of 1935-36.
70. S.I.I., Vol. VII, No.737.
71. Ibid.
72. A.R.E., No.250 of 1935-36.
73. S.I.I., Vol. X, No.349.
74. J.A.H.R.S., Vol. XXXV, p.421.
75. S.I.I., Vol. V, No.121.
76. Ibid., No.122.
77. Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Warangal District, No.87.
78. Bhāratī, June, 1976, p.20.
79. Epi. Andhrica, Vol. IV, p.110.
80. K. Lakshmiranjanam attributed by mistake (Bhāratī, Oct., 1970, p.34) the Kolanupāka record to Indusēkhara I. He states that some area might have been given to Indusēkhara as dowry (arāṇamu) from the territories of the Kākatīyas, in connection with the marriage of Rudramā with Chālukya Virabhadra. But Indusēkhara, mentioned in the Kolanupāka record, belongs to A.D.1279 and should not be identified with Indusēkhara I. In that record Indusēkhara was described as the brother's son of Virabhadra, who himself was the younger son of Indusēkhara I. He could be identified with Indusēkhara II only.
81. V.R., Vol. II, No.344.
82. Bhāratī, Oct., 1970, p.34.
83. Ibid., Feb., 1971, p.38.
84. J.A.H.R.S., Vol. VII, p.122.



85. C.T.I., Vol. I, No.25.
86. J.A.H.R.S., Vol. XXXV, p.421.
87. Bhārati, June, 1976, p.20.
88. J.A.H.R.S., Vol. XXI, p.66.
89. S.I.I., Vol.X, No.348.
90. M. Somasekhara Sarma and M.V.N. Aditya Sarma wrongly noted (J.A.H.R.S., Vol. XXXV, p.421) the date of this record as S.1117, i.e., 1195 and considered it as the record of Mahādēva I. But the record is dated in S.1177, i.e., A.D. 1255, the period of Mahādēva II.
91. S.I.I., Vol. X, No.348.
92. Ibid., No.349.
93. Ibid., No.11.
94. Bhārati, June, 1976, p.20.
95. Epi. Andhrica, Vol. IV, p.110.
96. J.A.H.R.S., Vol. VII, p.122.
97. S.I.I., Vol.V, No.147.
98. Ibid., Vol.X, No.481.
99. Ibid., Vol.V, No.125.
100. Ibid., No.127.
101. S.I.I., Vol.V, No.124.
102. Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Warangal District, No.87.
103. Bhārati, Oct., 1970, p.34 and Feb., 1971, p.38.
104. C.T.I., Vol.I, No.25; J.A.H.R.S., Vol.XXXV, p.421; Bhārati, June, 1976, p.20.
105. S.I.I., Vol.X, No.360.
106. Ibid., Vol.V, No.122.



107. A.R.E., No.8 of 1956-57.
There is a record of Virabhadra (S.I.I., Vol.IV, No.1163) who offered grants to God Bhīmēśvara of Drākshārāma in A.D.1266, the 20th regnal year of Rājādhirājādēvara. Though the name and the date of the king make one identify him with the Virabhadra of this family, his father's name is mentioned as Narasimha, which goes against its attribution to Chālukya Virabhadra. Hence he might have been a prince of different family.
108. S.I.I., Vol. X, No.360.
109. Ibid., Vol.V, No.123.
An inscription at Palakollu dated A.D.1261 (S.I.I., Vol.V, No.121) states Anyamadēvi as the 'Janani' of prince Virabhadra. But it is a mistake for 'Bhagini' as pointed out by Chilukuri Virabhadrarao (Kakatiya Andhra Raja Yuva Charitra, p.469).
110. S.I.I., Vol. V, No.122.
111. The Kakatiyas of Warangal, p.127.
112. Copper-Plate Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh Government Museum, Vol.I, p.109.
113. J.A.H.R.S., Vol. VII, p.122.
114. Ibid., Vol.XXXV, p.421.
115. Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Warangal District, No.87.
116. S.I.I., Vol.X, No.481.
117. J.A.H.R.S., Vol. VII, p.122.
118. Bhārati, June, 1976, p.20.
119. Epi.Andhrice, Vol.IV, p.110.
120. J.A.H.R.S., Vol. XXXV, p.421.
121. The Kakatiyas of Warangal, p.179.
122. Ibid., p.166.
123. Śivavōcasāram, Introduction, Verse, No.77.



124. S.I.I., Vol.X, No.481.
As the inscription is found in the Vishnu temple at Mallipūdi, and there is nothing to indicate that this temple was originally one of 'Siva', the Government Epigraphist observed that it is likely that the inscribed stone should have been removed here from Nidadavōlu.
125. S.I.I., Vol.V, No.125.
126. Ibid., No.127.
127. Ibid., No.124.
128. Ibid., No.147.
129. J.A.H.R.S., Vol.XXI, p.66.
130. Ibid., Vol.VII, p.122.
131. S.I.I., Vol. V, No.147.
132. Bhāratī, Oct., 1970, p.34.
133. The Kakatiyas of Warangal, p.130.
134. Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Warangal District, No.87.
135. Veluqōṭivāri Vamśāvali, Verse, 25.
136. Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Warangal District, Introduction, p.XXV.
137. Veluqōṭivāri Vamśāvali, Verses Nos.59-65.
138. Ibid., No.65.
139. Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Warangal District, Introduction, p.XXV.
140. Veluqōṭivāri Vamśāvali, Introduction, p.11.



CHAPTER - VI

CHĀLUKYA KINGS KNOWN FROM THE INSCRIPTIONS OF VARIOUS DISTRICTS AND FROM LITERATURE

I. Śrīkākuḷam District:

Another important family that claimed its descent from the Chālukyas of the Lunar race is known from the inscriptions of Śrīkākuḷam. Even though its members were not powerful enough to influence the contemporary political scene, they played a significant role as 'māṇḍalīkas' in the local politics which was confined only to the present Śrīkākuḷam district.

This family connected itself with the Chālukyas of Vēṅgī and traced its descent from Vimalāditya who ruled from A.D. 1011 to 1018. This family, hitherto called by writers like V. Yasodadevi¹ as the 'Chālukyas of Śrīkūrmam', lived in the areas of the Śrīkākuḷam district in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Just because of the location of their inscriptions in the temple of Śrīkūrmam, writers mentioned this family by that name. But we are not certain that Śrīkūrmam was their capital. The political status of this family was also quite different from that of the other Chālukya families. They never established an independent rule of their own. They served as ministers and officers under the later Gaṅgas of Kāliṅga for more than four generations



and played a notable role in the political conditions and administrative systems of the period. They held positions of importance in the royal court of the Gaṅgas and contracted alliances of marriage with the Gaṅga kings. Jakkaladēvī, the queen of Vīra Bhānudeva I, Maṅkūdadēvī, the queen of Rājarāja III and Hīradēvī, the queen of Bhānudeva III, belonged to the family of the Chālukyas.²

The inscriptions of Śrīkūrmam³ and Simhāchalam⁴ form the main source of information regarding this family. But in none of these inscriptions did they mention their praśasti or the mythical genealogy which appeared in the contemporary Chālukya inscriptions in the nearby areas.⁵ Only the Śrīkūrmam pillar inscriptions⁶ mention the early history of this family. Vimalāditya, the Vēṅgī ruler who ruled in the second decade of the eleventh century, is said to have been the founder of this line. His son was the famous Rājarājanarēndra. He is described as a glorious king, whose fame was very extensive and whose lotus feet were worshipped by all princes. His capital was Rājamahēndravara. He is said to have translated Bhārata, with the help of scholars into Telugu.⁷ This line of rulers claim the Mānavyasagōtra, to which the Chālukyas belonged.

The contents of the Śrīkūrmam inscriptions issued by this family need some special study. No doubt they yield



some important information which is not known from other sources. But we should remember that it is a custom for the later Chālukya families in these areas to connect themselves with Rājarāja and Vimalāditya to enhance their prestige as is evidenced in the case of Chālukyas of Elamañchili. As such, no credence could be given for such claim. No proper descent of this family is available in any of the sources. The establishment of any branch by Vimalāditya in Kaṭiṅga, is hitherto not known. He had only two sons, Rājarājanarēndra and Vijayāditya, by his two queens Kundava and Nēḍavamahādevī respectively. Neither Rājarāja nor Vijayāditya was known as the originator of a separate branch. Rājarāja had only one son Rājēndra, who later on migrated to the Chōḷa Court and became Kulōttunga I and founded the Chālukya Chōḷa empire. Vijayāditya had a son named Śaktivarman II who predeceased his father. Thus from the side of the family relating to the Vēṅgī kingdom, there was no branch of Chālukyas that migrated to Kaṭiṅga. But in respect of the claim that was made in the Śrīkūrmam inscriptions of this family, it can be stated that they had probably an unconnected and ambiguous relationship with the main family.

M. Samba Sivaramamurthy thought⁸ that Vijayāditya, the earliest ruler of this family, was the son of Rājarājanarēndra

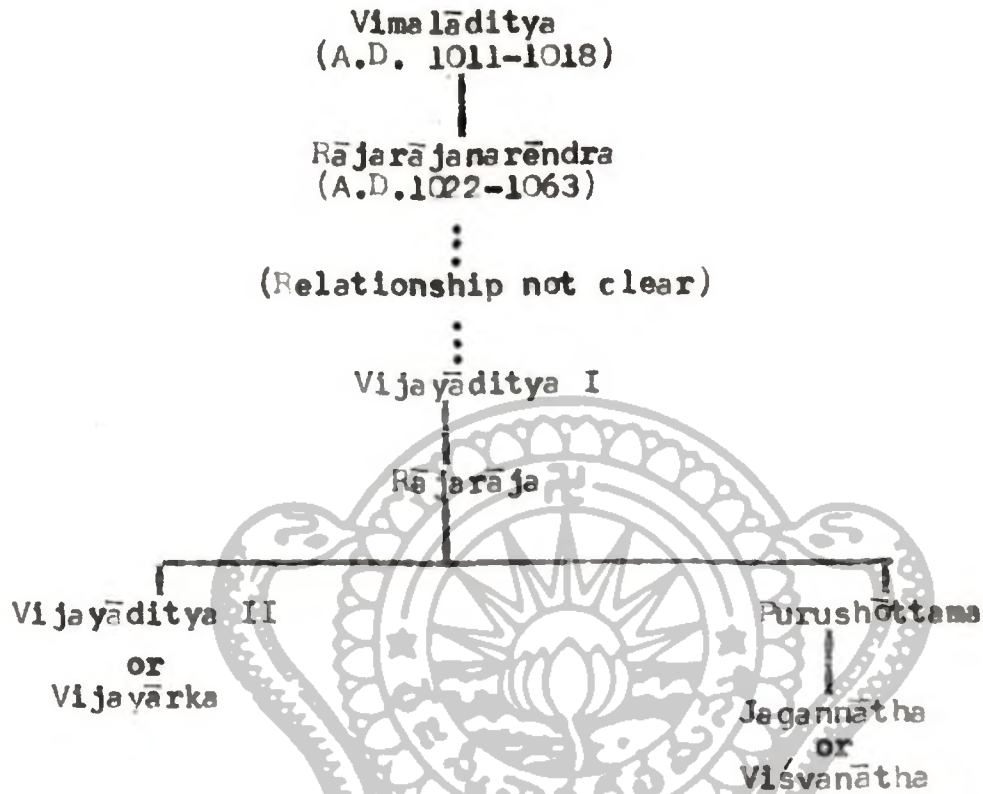


and that he was responsible for the spread of this branch into Kalinga. Moreover, he identified Sōmaladēvi, daughter of one Rēvaladēvi, known from the Drākshārāma inscription⁹ of A.D. 1065, as the sister of this Vijayāditya. All his arguments appear to have been based on misconceptions.¹⁰ The main aim of all those arguments is only to locate one Vijayāditya as the Śrīkūrmam inscriptions require one such ruler. We cannot trace the rulers of this branch before Vijayāditya in which period the migration of this family to South Kalinga might have occurred. The earlier matrimonial alliances between the Gangas of Kalinga and the Chālukyas of Vēṅgī, and the later conditions which disturbed the political equilibrium in South and Madhyama Kalingas after the downfall of the Chālukya Empire of Vēṅgī, were probably the main causes for the migration of the family into the areas of the present Śrīkākulam district.

Genealogy and Chronology:

The inscriptions of Śrīkūrmam¹¹ suggest the following genealogy for this branch of Chālukyas:





The order of succession and parentage in this list is further confirmed by the details about individuals mentioned in some other inscriptions. Hence there is no objection to accepting the above genealogy as a reliable list of kings.

Vijayāditya I is the first known ruler in the direct line of this family. As stated already, his relations with Vimalāditya and Rājarājanarēndra are not known. V. Yasodadevi roughly calculated¹² the date of Vijayāditya as falling in the latter half of the 12th Century A.D., and allotted to his son Rājarāja a lengthy period of 73 years between A.D. 1200 and 1273. But from an inscription¹³



dated A.D. 1273 issued by his son Vijayāditya, Rājarāja is known as a minister of Vīranarasimha of the later Gaṅga family who ruled from A.D. 1238 to A.D. 1263. Basing on this contemporaneity, we can fix A.D. 1250 as the probable date for this Rājarāja. Hence the date of his father Vijayāditya may be fixed in the period around A.D. 1225, a quarter of a century earlier. Thus the periods of the first two kings viz., Vijayāditya and Rājarāja are fixed as A.D. 1225 to 1250, and 1250 to 1273 respectively. Vijayāditya II or Vijayārka, the son and immediate successor of Rājarāja is known from his record¹⁴ dated A.D. 1273 from Śrīkūrmam. The latest limit of his reign is fixed as A.D. 1277; as that is the date of another Śrīkūrmam inscription¹⁵ issued by his younger brother Purushōttama. Purushōttama and his son Viśvanātha alias Jagannātha are the last known rulers in the pedigree. Purushōttama's earliest inscription¹⁶ and latest inscription,¹⁷ both located in Śrīkūrmam, are dated in A.D. 1277 and 1318 respectively. So the period of 41 years in between these two dates may be counted as the period of Purushōttama. But his son Viśvanātha alias Jagannātha issued three inscriptions¹⁸ with dates A.D. 1307, 1307 and 1309 respectively. So it is not possible to fix him as the successor of his father Purushōttama, as Purushōttama's reign continued upto A.D. 1318.



Hence Jagannātha should be considered as the conjoint ruler with his father from A.D. 1307 to A.D. 1318. But V. Yasodadevi thought¹⁹ that Purushōttama stated in the Śrīkūrmam inscription of A.D. 1318 is probably the son of this Viśvanātha alias Jagannātha. There is little scope for this conjecture. We cannot definitely state that he was the son of Viśvanātha for it is not confirmed by any other strong evidence. After A.D. 1318 no rulers of this line are heard of. So the period of the five rulers of this line can be arranged in between A.D. 1225 and A.D. 1318, in the following manner:

Vijayāditya I	:	A.D. 1225-1250
Rājarāja	:	A.D. 1250-1273
Vijayāditya II	:	A.D. 1273-1277
or Vijayārka	:	A.D. 1273-1277
Purushōttama	:	A.D. 1277-1318
Viśvanātha	:	A.D. 1307-1318
or Jagannātha	:	A.D. 1307-1318

Thus it is known that these princes settled in the area of Śrīkūrmam as ministers and officers in the court of the Later Gaṅgas and continued to play an important role for four generations roughly for a period of hundred years beginning from the second quarter of the 13th Century.



Though no details are available regarding the political history of this family, they must have administered the province under the Gaṅgas, though they did not date some of their records in the Gaṅga era or in the regnal years of the Gaṅgas.

Vijayāditya I is the first known ruler in this family. His son Rājārāja is stated to be a minister of Vīranarasimha I. By this time the Gaṅgas took an offensive step against the Muslims; and probably they stood first among contemporary Hindu rulers to pursue an aggressive policy against the Muslims. It is Narasimha's conquest of the territory under the Muslims that provided him with the epithet 'Yavanāvanīvallabha'. It was probable that Chālukya Rājārāja also participated with his master in all these campaigns against the Muslims. His son Vijayāditya II is praised as 'the moon in the ocean of the Chālukya race' and compared to Indra in valour. But none of his achievements is known. Purushōttama, Vijayāditya II's brother, is described as a virtuous prince. V. Yasodadevi attributes²⁰ to this Purushōttama an undated inscription in Drākshārāma²¹ which mentions the gift by one Purushōttamamahārāja. But it is a mistake. That record itself states that it was given by Purushōttama of the Sūryavaṁśī Gajapati family. Moreover, it mentions the gift of land lying on the south side of Drākshārāma,



a place where this Chālukya prince Purushōttama had no authority. The same writer, Yasodadevi, notices another inscription²² of A.D. 1287 in Simhāchalam and assigns it to this Purushōttama. The inscription however belongs to Purushōttamanāyaka of the Bhāradvājagōtra and it is not correct to identify him with his Purushōttama, a Chālukya of Mānavyasa-gōtra. Moreover, the Simhāchalam inscription states that Purushōttamanāyaka was the grandson of Rāghavanāyaka; whereas the grand father of Chālukya Purushōttama was Vijayāditya I. Thus, both the above said inscriptions of Drākshārāma and Simhāchalam are in no way concerned with this family of the Chālukyas.

Viśvanātha or Jagannātha became conjoint ruler with his father Purushōttama in about 1307. He went to the Gaṅga country in A.D. 1307 to assist Bhānudeva II.²³ He was praised as 'a crest jewel among the sāmāntas'. The loyalty of Viśvanātha to Bhānudeva II is attested to by his records dated in the emperor's regnal years.

One Bīragōṭṭa Lakumarāju entitled 'Sarvalōkāśraya' and 'Vishṇuvardhana', son of Vijayāditya, is noticed in another inscription²⁴ dated A.D. 1346 at Simhāchalam. While recording his gifts which were offered along with his queen Śrīyādēvī to god Narasimha, the inscription mentions



that he belonged to the race of the Mānavyas. If this 'Bīragoṭṭa', used as a prefix to the name of the king, represents the place in which he resided, it can be identified with Vīragoṭṭa of the present Śrīkākuḷam district. If this presumption is correct, it can also be said that the rule of this Chālukya prince in this area was short lived, for an inscription²⁵ of A.D. 1357 located in Śrīkūrmam refers to Narasimha of Bhāradvājagōtra from Bīragoṭṭa.

II. Vizianagaram District:

A much damaged Kannada record²⁶ of the Chālukya king Sarvalōkāśraya Vishnuvardhana, entitled 'Rājamārtāṇḍa' and 'mummaḍi Bhīma' is noticed at Rāmatīrtham in the present Vizianagaram district. Sewell calculated²⁷ its date to be Ś. 1055, i.e., A.D. 1133. But disagreeing with him, the Government Epigraphist in his report²⁸ attributes this to Vimalāditya, the father of Rājarājanarēndra, who ruled in between A.D. 1011 and 1018. This inscription states that the saint Trikālayōgi Siddāntadēva, the presiding teacher of the Dēśigaṇa and the spiritual teacher of king Rājamārtāṇḍa, made salutations to Rāmakōṇḍa with great devotion. As the last days of king Vimalāditya ended in obscurity, some new light is needed to connect the Rājamārtāṇḍa



of this inscription with Vimalāditya, who had also this epithet.

An inscription dated A.D. 1379 at Simhāchalam²⁹ refers to the king of Nānavyasa-gōtra, Jalēśvaramahāpātra, entitled 'Sarvalōkāśraya' and 'Vishṇuvardhana'. Because he offered some land to God Narasimha of Simhāchalam in the village of Nēradupalli, near Vizianagaram, it is possible that he exercised authority in this area. The suffix 'mahāpātra' to his name indicates his subordination to the Gaṅgas.

In another inscription dated A.D. 1380³⁰ at the same place there is a reference to a certain Dharmadāsajīyana, son of Bhīmarājajīyana, the 'Kaṭṭingamaju' belonged to the family of the Chālukyas.

Another Chālukya king Nallurāju Rābhutturāja, who is stated as 'Kaṭṭingamajli' and entitled 'Sarvalōkāśraya Vishṇuvardhana' is referred to in an inscription³¹ dated A.D. 1385 at Simhāchalam. One Potnūri Chenmurāju is mentioned as a subordinate of this king Nallurāju; and if this Potnūru stands to be a village he then resided in, it is identical with the present Potnūru near Vizianagaram; and it can be said that these areas were under the control



of this Chālukya chief.

III. East Godavari District:

At Drākshārāma an inscription³² of about 15th Century, while recording an offering of lamp by a member of the Rāparti family, acknowledges the rule of one Sarvalōkāśraya Vishṇuvardhana. Even though the first figure of the śaka date is damaged the year must be S.1335, which corresponds to A.D. 1413. By this time no Chālukya ruler of considerable authority is known in this area. Though there is, nearby, the Chālukya family of Elamañchili, their kingdom never included parts of the present East Godavari district; and hence this Vishṇuvardhana should not be identified with the ruler of the same period in the Elamañchili branch. As known from the Pedacherukūru inscription and Ikshugrāma plates, one Chālukya ruler, Vishṇuvardhana, was holding sway over the area of the present East Godavari district with his capital at Rājamahēndravara in the period around A.D. 1328.³³ The Vishṇuvardhana mentioned in this Drākshārāma inscription may be either one of the successors of that Vishṇuvardhana of Rājamahēndravara or an independent king not known from other sources. No other inscriptions of Drākshārāma dated in this period acknowledge this Vishṇuvardhana.

Another Chālukya prince known only from the Chaṭu verses attributed to Vēmulaṇḍa Bhīma Kavi, a poet whose date and



other details are controversial,³⁴ is Chokkarāja. The historicity of this prince is entirely doubtful.³⁵ Except a reference to him in two or three stanzas, there is nothing to give information about this king. Kākunūri Appa Kavi, a writer of the later period, states that these stanzas were written by Vēmūlavāḍa Bhīmākavi.

No Chālukya prince by name 'Chokkarāja' is known from inscriptions and literature till now. But one of Bhīma Kavi's stanzas mentions him as 'Chālukya Chokka'.³⁶ G. Sriramamurthy thought that this prince was the ruler of Kalinga.³⁷ C. Seshayya tried to connect³⁸ the word 'Chokka' with 'Chokkanāyanār' the title used for one Kulōttunga Chōla and found in an inscription at Pāṇḍuraṅgam of Gudur Taluq of Nellore District.³⁹

In another stanza of Bhīma Kavi, the enmity of Sāhiṇī Māra with Chālukya Chokka is mentioned.⁴⁰ This Sāhiṇī Māra could be the general of Kākati Pratāparudra of that name. If 'Chokkanāyanār' were a title to any one of the three Kulōttunga Chōlas, the last date of Kulōttunga III would be A.D. 1218. But the Kākati king at this time was Gaṇapati; and not Pratāparudra, who was the great grandson of Gaṇapati and who ruled between A.D. 1289 and 1323. Hence it is difficult to identify Chālukya Chokka and his enemy Sāhiṇī Māra of the Chātu verses.



IV. West Godavari District:

One Chālukya king Vishnuvardhana, who played the villain in connection with the capture of Vāsavikanya is referred to in Kanvakāpurānam, otherwise known as Vaiśya-purānam. The historicity of this Chālukya king Vishnuvardhana is entirely doubtful.⁴¹ The writer of this Vaiśya-purānam, in which the episode is described in detail, was Gurubhāskarāchārya, a resident of Penugonda of the West Godavari District. His period is located by Kandukūri Veerēśalingam, the author of Āndhra Kavula Charitra, in the sixteenth century.⁴² Basing on the dates given to the various versions of this Purānam, found in the Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, C. Seshayya also assigns⁴³ the date of Bhāskarāchārya to the sixteenth century. The reference to Bammara Pōtana, the writer of Āndhra Bhāgavata of the 15th Century, in this work proves that this certainly belongs to a date later than 15th Century. Thus this is a late work which tries to describe the story of some earlier centuries.

This story refers to Rājārāja and his son Kulōttunga (who ruled from A.D. 1022 to 1063 and from A.D. 1063 to 1118 respectively). In the period of Kulōttunga it is said that he loved one Vaiśya girl Vāsavī Kanya and asked her father Kusumaśeṭṭi to give her in marriage to him. When the latter rejected the request, the king got angry and



ordered the arrest of father and daughter. Vāsavīkanya with her divine powers pronounced a curse on king Vishṇuwardhana (Kulōttunga) and consigned herself to the fire which she created.⁴⁴

This traditional sacred story of the Penugonda merchant community has a different version in Thurston's account. Its narration briefly goes like this.⁴⁵ By the order of Śiva, merchants came to the earth and lived in eighteen towns among which Penugonda stood as a capital. Their 'Kulapati' was Kuśumasrēṣṭhi and his daughter was Vāsavi, the incarnation of Pārvati. When she attained the age of seven, Vishṇuwardhana, the father of Rājarājanarēndra wanted to marry her and asked the Vaiśyas to accede to his request. As matrimonial alliance on maternal side is a must for the Penugonda merchants, they strongly refused the request made by the king as it violated their sacred tradition. Their refusal provoked the anger of the king; and to escape punishment, at the word of divine Vāsavi, all of them jumped into fire. Bhāskarāchārya, the religious priest of the Vaiśya families, encouraged them to resist the king and protect their religious principles. He assembled the Vaiśyas of all the 714 gōtras and gave 'Vīratāmbūlas' and exhorted them to die like heroes by jumping into fire, instead of meeting disgraceful death at the hands of Vishṇuwardhana. But among them the Vaiśyas of only 102 gōtras took 'Vīratāmbūlas' and the remaining



families ran away from the city.⁴⁶ Vāsavī Kanya pronounced the curse of death on Vishnuvardhana, the king of Penugonda, and later became a tutelary deity of the Penugonda merchant families.

Bhāskarāchārya who witnessed this tragedy need not be the same Bhāskarāchārya who wrote this work. At the request of the Vaiśyas of Penugonda, the poet Bhāskarāchārya composed this work in Telugu basing it on the previous narrations made by Sālankāyana.⁴⁷ As stated already, the historicity of this episode is not beyond doubt. This is a later date account written by Gurubhāskarāchārya who may be supposed to have invented this story to enhance the prestige of those Vaiśya families of Penugonda who were his patrons. A number of scholars criticised the entire story as a myth created by Gurubhāskarāchārya. Chilukuri Veerabhadrarao criticises⁴⁸ this work for its over-glorification of the Vaiśya community and its fanatical observance of conventions. G.R. Varma observes⁴⁹ that the 'Vāsavī Kanya' in the temple of Penugonda seems to be a figurine of a young lady, but not that of a seven year girl as described in the story. The narration of the story itself is confused, the names of the father and son differ in the versions.

But another important point in this episode is the grant of a village Tamarāda to Bhāskarāchārya by the Vaiśyas.



It is said that at the time of their mass suicide the Vais̥yas issued a copper-plate grant mentioning the gift of Tāmarāḍa near Penugonḍa to Bhāskarāchārya, and a pillar inscription mentioning the gift of Penugonḍa partly to the deity in the town and partly to the priests and scholars. The writer of Vaiśvapurāṇam included the text of that copper-plate inscription in his work; and by it we know that the grant is dated in Kali years 2628 (Kalyādvabḍa gaṇēṣṭa nētra rasa druksaṅkhyē),⁵⁰ which corresponds to B.C. 474. As the rule of Vishṇuvardhana of the Chālukya family, and the reference to the capital Rājamahēndravara are not at all applicable to that time, it seems that the date mentioned in this inscription is absolutely wrong. Vaiśvapurāṇam describes in detail the capital Rājamahēndravara and the personality of king Vishṇuvardhana.

Though we question the historicity of this work, one point that deserves our attention is the date portion given in the Tāmarāḍa grant. It is Kalyādvabḍa gaṇēṣṭa nētra rasa druk saṅkhyē which means the Kali Year 2628. This may be taken not only as the date of issue of the record but also as the date on which the tragic death of the Vais̥yas and Vāsavi took place.

Even though the identity of Vishṇuvardhana, the Chālukya king of these areas is not known until now, it is not



impossible to identify him in the light of other sources. Two other records Pedacherukūru inscription⁵¹ and the Ikshugrāma grant⁵² which also bear the same date give the details of one Vishṇuvardhana, the Chālukya ruler of Rājamahēndravara. The Kaliyār, the cyclic year, the month, fortnight, week-day and the tithi of these two inscriptions are identical with the date mentioned for this Tamarāḍa grant written in Vaiśyapūrāṇam. This date is equated, in all possibility, to A.D. 1328 as will be discussed later. Thus though until now we did not know about this king Vishṇuvardhana who desired to marry Vāsavi and who played a vicious role in this episode, it is now possible to say in the light of Pedacherukūru inscription and Ikshugrāma grant, that this Vishṇuvardhana is an independent Chālukya prince who ruled a small tract around Rājamahēndravara in the first half of the 14th Century. Except this no other details about him are known. Or otherwise, in the 13th, 14th centuries, these areas were under the administration of the Chālukya branch at Nidadavōlu in which there are some Vishṇuvardhanas, with any one of whom this episode may have been connected. But this entire story need not be considered as completely historic; and we should be wary or cautious in connecting any known Vishṇuvardhana with this story.⁵³

The worship of Vāsavi Kanya of Penugonda by the Chālukya



princes is evident; for, a damaged inscription⁵⁴ in the Kanyakāparamēśvari shrine in the Nagarēśvara temple of Penugonda⁵⁵ of the West Godavari District, records the offering of a perpetual lamp by one, Sarvalōkāśraya Vishṇuvardhana.

One Vishṇuvardhana Satōda Bēhara Mahāpātra Śrī Śaṅkara Harichchandramahārāja is known from an inscription⁵⁶ dated A.D. 1596 at Palakollu, which states that he founded a city by name 'Perumāndunagara'. His prasaṣti is also described in a literary work Māghamahātmya.⁵⁷ It seems that he played a notable role in preventing the expansion of Muslim power in Northern Andhra. In those attempts he died along with his supporters in the battle of Chīntapelli-gāndi at the hands of Biramal-Aman-Mulk in A.D. 1599.⁵⁸

At a late period, the kings of other dynasties like those of Gajapatis used the epithets like 'Sarvalōkāśraya' and 'Vishṇuvardhana' of the Chālukyas.⁵⁹

V. Krishna District:

Another family of the Chālukyas ruled in the twelfth century as known from the inscriptions⁶⁰ at places like Pedakallēpalli. This family ruled for only three generations and for more than half a century in this area.



The earliest ruler of this family named Chālukya Bhīma is known from the inscription⁶¹ of his son Balla dated in A.D. 1154. As no inscriptions of his own are forthcoming, his achievements, if any, are not known. His wife was Abbāladēvi. In the inscription of his Son Balla, he was compared to Dilīpa, the legendary hero of the Solar race.

Balla or Ballaha was the son and successor of the above-mentioned Chālukya Bhīma. He is known from two inscriptions issued by his two queens Sōmaladēvi⁶² and Kāmaparāṇī,⁶³ which mention their offerings of lamps to God Nāgēśvara of Pedakallēpalli in A.D. 1154, 'Sarvalōkāśraya' and 'Vishṇuvardhana' are the titles known about him in these inscriptions.⁶⁴ Probably he continued his rule upto A.D. 1177, the earliest date of his son Bhīma.

Bhīma or Bhīmadēva as the son of Ballaha figures in two inscriptions which record his offerings to God Koppadēva of Palivela (East Godavari District) dated in A.D. 1177⁶⁵ and A.D. 1202⁶⁶ respectively. He continued his rule probably upto A.D. 1202, the date of his second record.

The genealogy of these rulers known from inscriptions is noted hereunder:



Chālukya Bhīma
(m. Abbāladēvi)

Balla or Ballaha
(m. Sōmaladēvi & Kāmaparāṇī)
(A.D. 1154)

Bhīma or Bhīmadēva
(A.D. 1177-1202)

No achievements are known of the three generations of rulers of this family. It is likely that these chiefs were rulers in parts of the Krishna district.

Another inscription from Pedakalleballi,⁶⁷ which mentions a grant by one Kulōttunga Chōdadēva Goṅkaya, acknowledges the 13th year of Vishnuvardhana. As one Sarvalōkāśraya Vishnuvardhana Balla of the above family is known as the ruler from the inscriptions from the same place, and as he ruled for 23 years (i.e. from 1154 to 1177), it is not improbable that the Vishnuvardhana of the present record was the same as Ballaha-Vishnuvardhana of the above family.

One inscription⁶⁸ from Bezowada introduces one Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Pallakala, a Pallava king, in connection with his devotional offerings to the Mallēśvara temple. He refers to his subordination to a Chālukya king of Vēṅgīdēśa.

Pōchirāju Viranna of the eighteenth century, in his Manuvamśapurāṇa, mentions that one Chālukya Vishnuvardhana



mahārājadēva Bhallana Viraperumāl was a disciple of Śrīpati Paṇḍita and that he ruled at Bezawada in A.D.1187. But N. Venkataramanayya⁶⁹ disagrees with this statement by saying that no Chālukya ruler of that name is reported from Bezawada in this period and in fact none from South India itself.

VI. Guntur District:

The inscriptions of Chālukya kings are known from places like Vēlpūru, Undavilli, Bhattiprōlu, Pedacherukūru, and Selapādu. A majority of these inscriptions belong to the twelfth century A.D.

The rule of one Sarvalōkāśraya Vishṇuwardhana at Vēlpūru in the Sattenapalle taluq, is known from two partly damaged inscriptions in the Rāmeśvaradēva temple.⁷⁰ Both these inscriptions record the gift of cows for the maintenance of lamps in the temple and dated in Ś.1034, the cyclic year 'Chitrabhānu', which should correspond to A.D. 1112. But the Government Epigraphist observes that the cyclic year 'Chitrabhānu' falls in Ś.1024 instead of Ś.1034. Hence the date of the inscription corresponds to A.D.1102-1103.

In A.D. 1133, one Sarvalōkāśraya Vishṇuwardhana is referred to in the inscription at Undavilli.⁷¹ While mentioning



the installation of God Bhīmēśvara at Uṇḍavillī and registering some gifts to the deity, one Kaṇḍravāḍi Bhīmarāja acknowledges the 10th regnal year of this Vishṇuvardhana. From this it is evident that this Vishṇuvardhana came to power in A.D. 1123, and was therefore different from the Vishṇuvardhana of A.D. 1103.

In an inscription from Bhaṭṭiprōlu dated A.D. 1144, one Kulōttunga Chōḍa Goṅka mentions offering of land to God Viṭṭalesvara.⁷² It is said in the same inscription that the offering of land made by Goṅka was originally made by king Vishṇuvardhana. It is not known if this Vishṇuvardhana was the same as Vishṇuvardhana of the Uṇḍavillī record of A.D. 1133.

Rājamāmbika, a princess of the Chālukya family is mentioned as a wife of Mummadi Bhīma, son of Rājāditya of the Haihaya family, in an inscription of her son Rājēndra-Kōṇa-Lōkarāja dated A.D. 1150.⁷³

There is a long gap between A.D. 1150 and 1328, i.e. till the emergence of one Kumudavardhana entitled Vishṇuvardhana who is known from the inscription in the Trivikramasvāmi temple of Pedacherukūru in Bapatla Taluq.⁷⁴ It is a lengthy inscription of one hundred and seventy six lines written in both Sanskrit and Telugu. This record was composed by Śrīpati, the education officer (Vidvādhikārī) of Vishṇuvardhan



This inscription contains the early lines of the Chālukya prāsasti generally found in the Eastern Chālukya inscriptions. Vishnuvardhana is highly praised with a pile of best similes in the early part of the inscription.

This Chālukya king, Vishnuvardhana Kumudavardhana, is said to have been a grandson of another Vishnuvardhana and his capital was Rājamahēndravara. In continuation of an earlier hostility it is said that he made an attack on the rulers of Kalyāṇa and on their subordinate allies; and while returning from that conquest it is said that he came to Cherukūru and offered three villages to God Trivikramasvāmi. This grant is dated in Kali era mentioning the Kali year in Chronogram as Ḡeṇēṣṭha nētra rasa dōḥ. This much is the information given in that record.

But no Chālukya ruler by name Vishnuvardhana Kumudavardhana, grandson of another Vishnuvardhana, with his capital at Rājamahēndravara is known till now. Moreover, it is said that he was continuing his struggle against the rulers of Kalyāṇa. The important problem in this connection is its date. It is not dated either in śaka year or in the regnal year of the king which practice was commonly observed in the inscriptions of medieval Āndhra. Peculiarly enough this is dated in the Kali era and that too, with a false date. It is not possible to derive the correct number



to the Chronogram given as a date in this inscription.

Khandavalli Lakshmiranjanam and Komanduri Venkatacharyulu tried to give a correct meaning to this inscription and discussed⁷⁵ at length details like the identifications of the donor King Vishnuvardhana, his enemy's capital Kalyāṇa, and the date given in this inscription. Basing on the two epithets 'Pralayāditya' and 'Vishnuvardhana', the above writers identified this Vishnuvardhana with Vishnuvardhana II of the Vēṅgī Chālukya rulers who ruled in between A.D. 673 and A.D. 682. They argued that no Chālukya ruler in between A.D. 973 and 1077 was so capable as to claim the title 'conqueror of the ruler of Kalyāṇa'; and hence Vishnuvardhana II only could be identified with this ruler. Because the kingdom of Kalyāṇa did not exist by this time, (i.e., in between A.D. 673 and 682), these writers interpreted the word 'Kalyāṇa' as 'gold' or 'Kāñchana'; and stated that his enemies were Pallavas whose capital was Kāñchī. Thus these writers completely deviated from the topic and suppressed the important few points known from this enigraph.

The Vishnuvardhana of this inscription should not be identified⁷⁶ with Vishnuvardhana II of the Chālukyas of Vēṅgī for the following reasons:

- 1) Paleography suggests that this inscription belongs to the 13th and 14th Centuries A.D.



- ii) Reference to Rājahāndravara in this inscription suggests this to be a record of a later date; and certainly not that of Vishnuvardhana II, who ruled in the 4th quarter of the seventh century.
- iii) the other details mentioned in the inscription also force us to identify this to be belonging to a later date.

Vishnuvardhana II ruled Vēṅgī in between A.D. 673 and A.D. 682. The prāśastis given in his Arunthakūru⁷⁷ and Rēyūru⁷⁸ inscriptions completely differ from the prāśasti portion of this Pedacherukūru inscription. More important than this is, that the Pedacherukūru inscription can be assigned only to the 13th and 14th Centuries A.D. on paleographic grounds. Hence there is no possibility of identifying the Vishnuvardhana of A.D. 13th and 14th Centuries with Vishnuvardhana II of the 7th Century A.D.

The second important point is its reference to Rājahāndravara. Rājahāndravara was not known during the time of Vishnuvardhana II. It did not exist then. According to some scholars, Rājahāndravara was constructed by Anna I of the Vēṅgī Chālukya family.⁷⁹ Kāvvalankārachūdāmaṇi of Vinnakōṭa Peddaya of the 14th Century said that it was founded by Chālukya Rājarājanarēndra who lived in the 11th Century.⁸⁰ Thus by no means could the date of



Rājamahēndravara be fixed prior to Amma I.

The next important point is about the epithets that were mentioned in this inscription. 'Vishṇuvardhana' and 'Praḷayāditya' were the important epithets that were applied to this king. No doubt, Vishṇuvardhana II bore these titles. But it should not be forgotten that there was a tradition by which the descendants of the ruling families adopted the epithets of their ancestors. This is borne out by a number of inscriptions. The epithets of his predecessors might have been similarly used by this Kumudavardhana.

The above mentioned scholars, Lakshmi Ranjanam and Venkatacharyulu, failed to explain satisfactorily the meaning of the word 'Kalyāṇabhūpati' of the time of Vishṇuvardhana II and connected it with the Pallavas of Kāñchī which is untenable. Moreover, 'Kēsaripāṭi-gaḍa' which is familiar as a scale of measuring lands in medieval Āndhra was also mentioned in this inscription; and this goes contrary to their conclusion of dating the inscription in the 7th Century. All these evidences go to show that the identification of Vishṇuvardhana Kumudavardhana with Vishṇuvardhana II of the Chāḷukyas of Vēngī is unwarranted.

The false date of the inscription itself is the main



source from which arise all these problems. It is given in a Chronogram with the words Ganēshtanētra rasa dōh to state the Kali year. It is not possible to calculate a figure from this chronogram. The details are not clear to help in this matter. If we take 'Ashta', 'Nētra', 'rasa' and 'dōh' - as the words given, it shows the Kali year 2628. It corresponds to B.C. 474, a date which looks absurd in this context. With no explanation, the above writers Lakshmiranjanam and Venkatacharyulu attributed this date to A.D. 656.⁸¹ Maremanda Rama Rao calculated this to Kali year 4982.⁸² V. Yasodadevi mentioned this date as A.D.1316.⁸³ But all these dates were mere estimations or conjectures; and none of these writers explained how the conclusion is arrived at.

A copper plate grant which belongs to the self same. Vishnuvardhana refers to the gift of a village 'Ikshugrāma' to a Brāhmaṇa Nārāyaṇa Śarma.⁸⁴ The characters of the letters in these plates belong to the 14th Century A.D. As in the epigraph, the date in the copper-plate is mentioned in the same wrong chronogram of the Kali year, corresponding to Prabhava, with the details Māgha, Śu, 2, Thursday. The Government Epigraphist calculated the date from these details and fixed it as 14th January of A.D.1328. This calculation can as well be applied to the



Pedacherukūru inscription which bears the same Kali year and other details. Strangely enough, the Vaiśvapurāṇam also mentions the same chronogram in connection with the grant of Tāmarāḍa.

Thus the Ikshugrāma copper-plate grant, the Pedacherukūru pillar inscription and Tāmarāḍa grant mention the same Vishṇuwardhana.⁸⁵ He ruled the country with his capital at Rājamahēndravara, either independently or in subordination to any other power, in the period around A.D.1328. Except these records, there is no other evidence in support of the rule of Vishṇuwardhana in the areas of Rājamahēndravara in the period around A.D.1328.

In a partly damaged inscription from Selapāḍu,⁸⁶ in which the regnal date is lost, and which seems to belong to a later period, mention is made of one Sarvalōkāśraya Vishṇuwardhana as the king and of his gift of land in Valālūru.

The last reference to the Chālukya princes in this district is found in another inscription dated A.D.1538 from Bhaṭṭiprōlu.⁸⁷ King Vishṇuwardhana is mentioned in it in connection with the grant of land to God Viṭṭalēśvara.

VII. Prakasam District:

The authority of a certain Vishṇuwardhana is noticed



in the inscriptions of Budamanārayana lapādu in the Podili Taluq of the Prakasam district. While registering his offerings to God Ubiliśvarabhaṭṭāra, one Śivappārāju acknowledges the first regnal year of Vishṇuvardhana.⁸⁸ In the same place another inscription registers the offering of land to God Ishta Sōmu⁸⁹ in the twelfth regnal year of Vishṇuvardhana.

A Telugu record (in Chālukya characters) in the Darsi Taluq of the same district refers to one Vikramāditya as a descendant of the Śrī Chālukya dynasty.⁹⁰

One Mahāmandalēśvara Bhīmarāja Siddhayadēva is known from an inscription dated A.D.1256 of Tripurāntakam.⁹¹ In this he was styled as 'Vishṇuvardhana', 'Chālukyanārāyaṇa', 'Vēngīpuravarādhiśvara' and as 'a devotee of Bhīmēśvara of Drāksharāma'. To maintain 'aṅga' and 'raṅga' bhōgas to God Tripurāntaka Mahādēva, he granted the villages 'Mūsikarithi' and 'Kedurepalle' in Pūṅgi-nādu. Epithets like 'Draviḷabhayaajvara', and 'Karnāṭamāṇḍalika vairi' attributed to him indicate his independent rule and distinguish him as one who opposed the authority of Draviḷa and Kannada rulers in this area.

At Tripurāntakam itself, there is an inscription of some other unnamed Chālukya prince dated A.D.1261 which



mentions the offering of a lamp to God Tripurāntakadēva.⁹² The donor is referred to in the inscription as 'Chālukya-vamsōdbhava', 'Chālukya Kulatilaka', and 'Chālukya-Nārāyaṇa'. But unlike the other Chālukya inscriptions in this temple, this record acknowledges the 2nd regnal year of Kākatī Rudradēva, and mentions this Chālukya king as a military officer of the Kākatīyas.

VIII. Nellore District:

Rulers with Eastern Chālukya prāsasti in the areas of Veṅkaṭagiri are known from an inscription at Nindali.⁹³ This inscription introduces a king named Avubha Lanāthadēva, who appears to be connected with the Chālukya family of Vēṅgī. This inscription dated in A.D. 1323, records an offering of land to the temple of Bhīmēśvara at Drākshārāma, the best of the five āramas. His epithets mentioned in the record are 'Rājamahēndra', 'Vīra-Chalikya Chandra', 'Vēṅgī Vishayādhīśa', 'Dravidamāṇḍalika-sallakī pallava-madagaṇḍra', 'Mālavaraṇḍa' and 'Vishṇuvardhana'.

In the same areas of Veṅkaṭagiri, at Mōpūr, an inscription dated in the 18th regnal year of Rājarājadēvachōla refers to Manumasiddhi with the title 'Chālukya-Nārāyaṇa'.⁹⁴ This shows the practice of other powers also using the titles of the Chālukyas in this area.



IX. Chittoor District:

Some Yādava kings, who appear to have claimed their descent from the Eastern Chālukya family, are known from a number of inscriptions from Śrīkālahasti. In these records they are mentioned as the chiefs of Kālahasti.⁹⁵ Tirukālattideva and his son Virarākshasa Yādava are the important rulers in this family. Both had the title 'Veṅgī Vallabha'. An inscription in the 15th regnal year of Kulōttunga Chōla III and A.D. 1192 registers a gift by Virarākshasa Yādava. In another record of A.D. 1225 in the same place, he is described as 'śaśikula-chalukki vīra-Narasimha Yādavarāja'. His other epithets known in the records are - 'Chālukya-Narāyaṇa', 'Tani-ninruvenra', and 'ghaṭṭiyadeva'. Probably Tirukālattideva, the father of this Virarākshasa was named after the name of his capital Śrīkālahasti.

X. Anantapur District:

Some inscriptions from this district written in either Kannada or Tamil, supply us with some details about the scions of the Chālukya family, which ruled in 12th Century A.D.⁹⁶ Of such inscriptions one is dated in A.D. 1168.⁹⁷ The names of the kings are not available; it is only mentioned that they belong to the Chālukya family. Nothing is known of their relations with other



contemporary Chālukya chiefs nor of any of their achievements. Probably this family was an offshoot of the Chālukya families of Karnāṭaka.⁹⁸

In the period about A.D. 1328, one Āravīṭi prince Sōmadēvarāja is referred to as having played a major role in controlling the Muslim attacks on Rāyalasīma.⁹⁹ It is said, that under his leadership all the local nāyakas rose in rebellion against the Muslim authority.¹⁰⁰ He is said to have captured seven forts in a single day. These Āravīṭis consider themselves as descendants of the Chālukyas.

XI. Khammam District:

The Veluqōṭivāri Vamsāvali, a chronicle which describes the history of the Velama Chiefs, gives some information about the Chālukya rulers of the later period who occupied small principalities. Though nothing is known of their inter-relations they were reported to be Chālukyas belonging to Sōmakula. Because of common hostility to the Velamas, all these princes opposed their power. It is said in this chronicle¹⁰¹ that a battle was fought in A.D. 1361 at Jallipalli wherein one hundred and one Chālukya chiefs like Koṇḍamalrāju, Kommaladēvu Pinnaḍu, Machcha Ōbalarāju etc. attacked Anapōtānēḍu and Mādānēḍu with an army of five lakhs and sixty thousand.¹⁰² But they were all killed in that



battle by the Velamas who later bore the epithets
 'Sōmakula paraśurāma',¹⁰³ 'Sōmavamsāgrahana',¹⁰⁴
 'Sōmakularājavarga nirdhūmadhāma',¹⁰⁵ 'Chālukyabhūpālavidaḷita'¹
 and 'Dharaṇīvarāha'.¹⁰⁷ The causes for, and the details
 of, this battle are not known. Why did all those Chālukya
 chiefs form into a confederacy to oppose the Velamas and
 why did they fail, even though their military force was
 comparatively larger and more powerful than that of the
 Velamas? These are some questions that await a satisfactory
 answer. The chronicle no doubt exaggerates the achievements
 of the Velama chiefs; but on that account the basic facts
 need not be rejected. In extending their kingdom, the
 Velama chiefs may have defeated some Chālukya chiefs in
 battles like the one at Jallipalli.

The Velugōtivarī Vamsāvalī alludes to a number of
 battles of the Velamas with these Chālukya chiefs. Pedavēdagiri
 son of Mādānēni, is said to have killed a chief named
 Chalikyadēva.¹⁰⁸ Lingamanēdu overcame another chief Chālukya
 Jivva.¹⁰⁹

Thus it is said that a number of Chālukya chiefs were
 defeated and the figures of their heads were carved in the
 foot stools of the Velama chiefs.¹¹⁰ This was a custom
 in medieval Āndhra followed by the Velama and the Reddi
 chiefs to humiliate their enemies. All these princes



referred to as Chālukyas in this chronicle, might have been either independent rulers or subordinate chiefs of small areas in Āndhra, especially in the tracts of Telangāna.

The significance of these claims over Chālukya chiefs has not been so far properly understood, as no Kshatriya chiefs of the Chālukya lineage are known to be ruling the areas of Jallipalli. But in an epigraph dated A.D. 1311 at Kolanupalli in the Warangal district, the rule of one Chālukya chief named Rudradēva, great-grandson of Indusēkhare of the Nidadavōlu family is referred to.¹¹¹ The provenance of the inscription, being not far away from Jallipalli, it can be inferred that some of the Chālukya kings vanquished by the Velama chiefs were probably the descendants of this Chālukya Rudradēva, the last known ruler of the Chālukya branch of Nidadavōlu.

K. Bhavayya Chowdari thinks¹¹² that the families of Jallipalli Magatas, Machchas, Koṇḍas, Sammetas and Chōḍas who supported the cause of the Chālukyas of Jallipalli were actually Chālukyas. The present evidence is not sufficient to know definitely the other particulars of these princes.

XII. Warangal District:

One Satyāśraya Bhīmarasa of the Chālukya family bearing



the title 'Mahāsāmantādhipati', is known from a damaged Kannada inscription at Kazipet.¹¹³ The inscription belongs to the period of Rāshtrakūṭa Amoghavarsha. Excepting the cyclic year Nāndana, the details of the date are not available; and basing on this, it is equated to A.D. 932-33, which falls in the reign of Rāshtrakūṭa Amoghavarsha III. It seems that Satyāśraya Bhīmarasa was a feudatory of Amoghavarsha as known from his title 'Mahāsāmantādhipati'. Of the same area and in the same century, some other Chālukya princes like Kariya Goṇaga of the Vēṃulavāda branch had also this title.¹¹⁴ But Bhīmarasa's relations with other Chālukya families in Telangāna are not at all known. The Kazipet inscription further lays down certain fines for offences. This type of levying fines for offences is also known from the Koravi record¹¹⁵ issued by the Chālukyas of Mudigonda which also belongs to the same area and to the same century. This helps us to know of the political unrest of the period in these areas.

XIII. Nalgonda District:

In the Nalgonda district one Chālukya king is known from his undated inscription¹¹⁶ but which is roughly assigned to the 13th and 14th centuries. In Būrugugeḍḍa of Huzurnagar taluq of this district, king Ammajīyya Gaṇapaddeva entitled 'Sarvalōkāśraya' and 'Vishṇuvardhana' records an offering of land as 'sarvamānya' to God Gōpīnāthēśvara of



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11. E.I., Vol. V, p.31.
12. J.A.H.R.S., Vol. XXI, p.62.
13. E.I., Vol. V, p.33.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid., p.34.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid., p.37.
18. S.I.I., Vol. V, No.1214; VI, Nos. 1000, 1002.
19. J.A.H.R.S., Vol. XXI, p.62.
20. Ibid.
21. S.I.I., Vol. IV, No.1362.
22. Ibid., Vol. VI, No.896.



23. It is stated that a set of peculiar copper-plates were discovered in the Pūri district roughly six decades ago. These loose plates, which bear no ring were six in number. The first plate is inscribed on one side only. The contents of the first five plates are in verse. The inscription mentions the complete genealogy of the Eastern Gaṅga kings from moon to Bhānudēva II. The writing and the space left empty at the end of the fifth plate suggest that this genealogy of these rulers was kept inscribed on these plates for ready use in times of need. Though the sixth plate is of the same size and type which bears the same type of writing it has no connection with the first five plates. It begins with a fresh invocation, dated in A.D. 1312, the 5th Victorious regnal year and mentions the name without titles of the king as Purushōttamadēva. In records the grant of several villages to 'Sandhivigraṇika' Raṅgadāsa Sarma who belonged to Vatsagōtra and the Kaṇva-śākha of the Yajurveda. This grant was issued from his camp on the bank of the South Ocean, in the presence of Vīra Śrī Bhānudēva.

From this it is evident that this Purushōttama (of the Chālukya family) was in Pūri probably as a dignitary under Bhānudēva II. But R.D. Benerjee identifies (*History of Orissa*, p.278) this Purushōttama of the Pūri plates as a different king, as the rule of Chālukya Purushōttama was over by that date and as his son Viśvanātha was ruling only the areas of Śrīkūrmam. He therefore proposes that this Purushōttama was a separate feudatory who usurped the throne of Bhānudēva II at about A.D. 1312. But it seems far from the truth. Purushōttama, the donor of the Pūri plates need not be considered different from the Chālukya Purushōttama referred to in the Śrīkūrmam inscriptions. While one Purushōttama as a subordinate of Vīra Bhānudēva is reported in the same period in the same area, it is unnecessary to think of another person of the same name who is not at all confirmed by any other evidence. As referred to already, his inscriptions are found in Śrīkūrmam with dates A.D. 1277 and A.D. 1318 respectively. By nominating his son to his seat in A.D. 1307 he might have gone to Pūri to occupy a high position in the regime of Vīra Bhānudēva II. Benerjee suspected that this Purushōttama was a usurper who kept Bhānudēva II a prisoner. If it were so, why should he have stated

contd....



in those Pūri plates that they were issued in the presence of Vira Bhānudevā II? Does it not indirectly show his subordination to, as well as his respect for Vira Bhānudevā II? Moreover the inscriptions of Śrīkūrmam dated around this period acknowledge the overlordship of Bhānudevā. Hence it is likely that Purushōttama of the Pūri plates was no other than Purushōttama of this Chālukya family. But in this suggestion the main difficulty is its date. This Chālukya Purushōttama occupied the throne in A.D. 1277 as known from his Śrīkūrmam record. By the time of issue of the Pūri plates he completed the rule of 35 years. But the Pūri plates mention his fifth regnal year which indicate his date of coronation as A.D. 1307. But Viśvanātha or Jagannātha, the son of Purushōttama also issued inscriptions as a subordinate of Vira Bhānudevā from A.D. 1307 from Śrīkūrmam. Since the same year has been mentioned as the date of coronation of his father in the Pūri plates, it should be presumed that Purushōttama might have gone to Puri to occupy a better position in the Gaṅga court, leaving his throne to his son and successor Viśvanātha. Because it was a new position, he might have counted his regnal years only from A.D. 1307 in his record. If this presumption is correct, it can be said that Purushōttama resided in the Gaṅga court in Pūri for more than ten years i.e. from A.D. 1307 to 1318. In A.D. 1318 he came back to his original home, as known from his Śrīkūrmam inscription bearing that date.

24. S.I.I., Vol. VI, No.989.
25. Ibid., Vol.V, No.1154-1155.
26. Ibid., Vol. X, No.403.
27. A.R.E., No.372 of 1905.
28. Ibid., 1918, Notes, No.6.
29. S.I.I., Vol. VI, No.1004.
30. Ibid., No.755.
31. Ibid., No.1125.



32. S.I.I., Vol.IV, No.1240.
33. Bhāratī, Oct., 1980, p.14.
34. Ibid., Jan., 1983, p.61.
35. Ibid., Mar., 1983, p.67.
36. Chātupādyamanimañjarī, p.112.
37. Āndhra Kavitarāṅgini, Vol. I, p.243.
38. Ibid.
39. N.D.I., No.446, p.96, quoted in Āndhra Kavitarāṅgini, Vol. I, p.243.
40. Chātupādyamanimañjarī, p.113.
41. Bhāratī, Feb., 1983, p.42.
42. Āndhra Kavulācharitra, p.221.
43. Āndhra Kavitarāṅgini, Vol. IX, p.206.
44. Kandukuri Veeresalingam wrote that after the death of Vishnuvardhana, caused by the curse of the divine Vāsavi, Rājarājanarēndra, the son of Vishnuvardhana appointed Virūpāksha, the brother of Vāsavi, as a ruler over eighteen cities. But these facts are not found in the texts of Vaiśvanurānam available at present. Hence Chaganti Seshayya thought that it is impossible to believe that the facts mentioned in this work are reliable.
45. Bhāratī, May, 1964, p.29.
46. Ibid., Feb., 1983, p.42.
47. Ibid.
48. Rājarājanarēndrapattābhisekha sanchika, p.143.
49. Bhāratī, May, 1964, p.29.
50. Śrī Vāsava Kanyakāmūṛānam, Chapter 44, Verse 22.



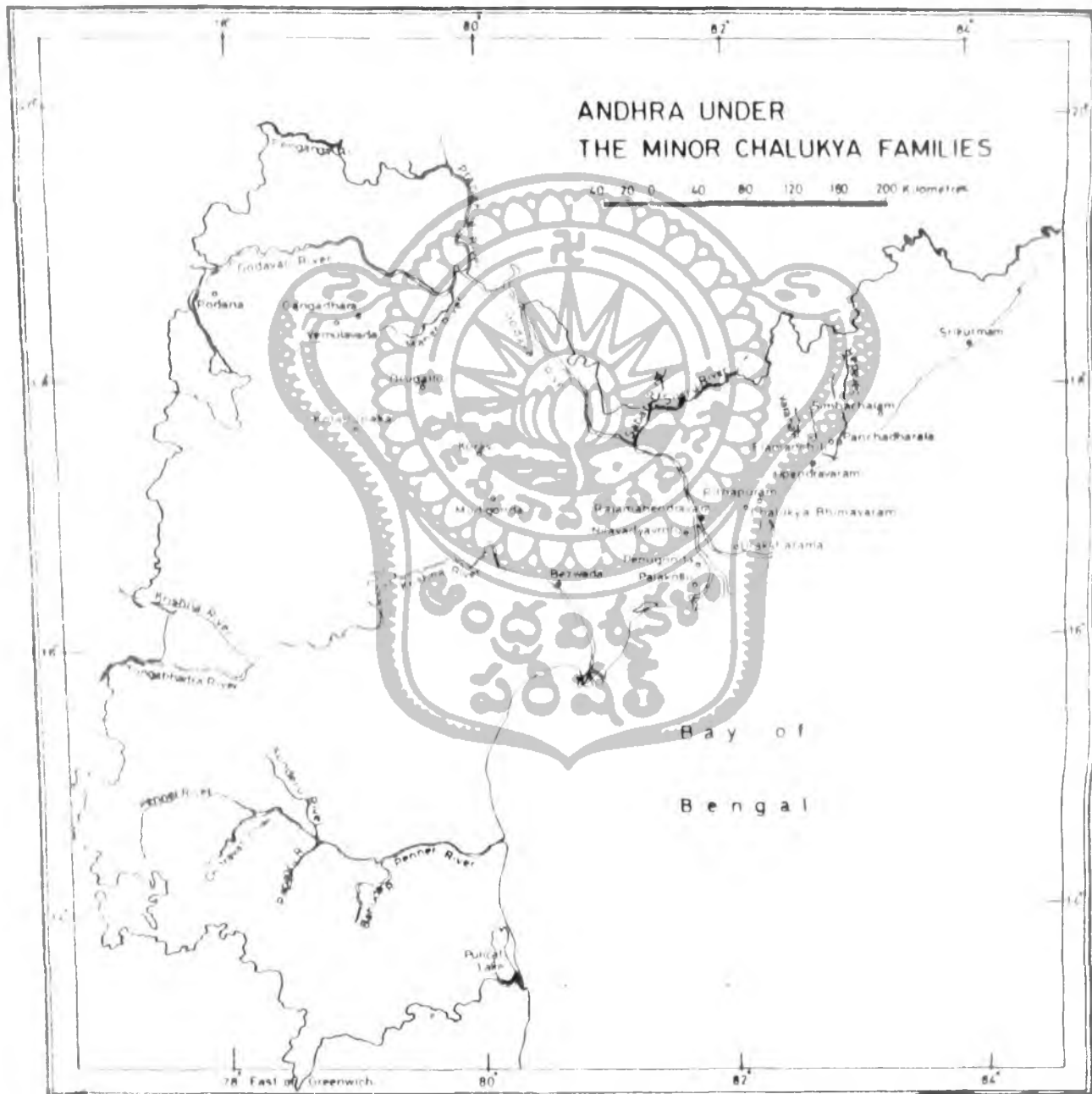
51. S.I.I., Vol. VI, No.202.
52. A.R.E., C.P. No.13 of 1961-62.
53. The details of Vāsavi Kanya and of Bhāskarāchārya were written in an inscription located in the temple of Ahobalēśvara of Tirupati in the Chittoor district. That inscription dated in 16th June of A.D.1609, (A.R.E., No.67 of 1915) is given for the merit of nagarasvāmins and gives some details about the guild of merchants.
54. A.R.E., No.703 of 1926-27.
55. In the catalogue of the Madras oriental Mss. Library, it is stated that this Penugonda is in the Anantapur district of Andhra Pradesh. But it is not correct. This Penugonda is in the Tanuku Taluk of the West Godavari District of Andhra Pradesh. The description of the city and the other details of its boundaries prove that its location in the West Godavari is correct.
56. S.I.I., Vol. V, No.165.
57. Kammavāri Charitramu, p.161.
58. Ibid.
59. Samalkot Kaifiyat, L.R. XIX, p.125.
60. S.I.I., Vol. VI, No.87, 88 etc.
61. Ibid., No.88.
62. Ibid.
63. Ibid., No.87.
64. Ibid., Vol. V, No.111.
65. Ibid.
66. Ibid., No.112.
67. Sewell's List, p.55.
68. A.R.E., No.536 of 1909.
69. A.S.P.P., Vol. 43, p.17.
70. S.I.I., Vol. X, Nos. 70, 71.



71. A.R.E., No.13 of 1956-57.
72. V.R., Vol. II, No.586-A.
73. A.R.E., No.709 of 1917.
74. S.I.I., Vol. VI, No.202.
75. Bhāratī, Sept., 1972, p.12.
76. Ibid., Oct., 1980, p.14.
77. I.A., Vol. VII, p.191.
78. Ibid., p.185.
79. History of the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi, p.234.
80. Kavyāṅkārachūdāmaṇi, Ullāsa, I, Verse, 4.
81. Bhāratī, Sept., 1972, p.12.
82. Inscriptions of Andhradesa, Vol. II, Part I, p.238.
83. J.A.H.R.S., Vol. XXI, p.77.
84. A.R.E., C.P. No.13 of 1961-62.
85. Bhāratī, Feb., 1983, p.42.
86. S.I.I., Vol. X, No.217.
87. V.R., Vol. II, No.586-K.
88. Ibid., No.582.
89. Ibid., No.581.
90. Ibid., No.62.
91. S.I.I., Vol. X, No.355.
92. Ibid., No.398.
93. A.R.E., No.56 of 1941-42, Notes No.121.
94. V.R., Vol. II, No.582.
95. Ibid., Vol. I, Nos. 69, 101, 102, 111, 120, 122 and 139.



96. S.I.I., Vol. VI, Nos. 553, 555 and 557.
97. Ibid., No.557.
98. Similar families of Yādavas who claimed themselves as Chālukyas are found at places like Bāpalapalli in the vicinity of Venkaṭagiri, Rāmagiri of the Chingalput district, and Tiruvannāmalai in the North Arcot district. Rājamalladēva entitled 'Bhujabalaśiddha' an important ruler of such Yādava-Chālukya rulers, is said to have granted house-sites to a number of Brāhmanas in Pākanādu. He also named the gift village after his own name as 'Rājamalla Chaturvēdimangalam'. (Andhrula-charitra by C. Veerabhadra Rao, Part II, p.113.)
99. History of the Reddi Kingdoms, p.101.
100. Sources of Vijayanagar History, pp.81-82.
101. Veluṅṭivāriyaṁśavali, Verse, No.65.
102. Ibid., No.60.
103. Ibid., No.61.
104. Ibid., No.74.
105. Ibid., No.250.
106. Ibid., No.128.
107. Ibid., No.67.
108. Ibid., No.99.
109. Ibid., No.126.
110. Ibid., No.111.
111. Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Warangal District, No.87.
112. Kammavāri Charitramu, p.150.
113. Kannada Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, No.71.
114. Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Warangal District, n.18.
115. Epi. Andhrica, Vol. I, p.142.
116. C.T.I., Vol. I, No.21.



CHAPTER - VIIADMINISTRATION

The study of polity and administration of the long period of rule of the minor families in Andhra is beset with two difficulties. Firstly, the source material is silent on this aspect to a large extent; only a few details of government, administration and taxation, are given skeletally. We cannot have a complete picture of the administrative machinery of these rulers from the scrappy details available. Secondly, the study deals with a number of Chālukya families of different periods ranging from seventh century to sixteenth century and located in different geographical units of Āndhradēśa. Moreover, at one time or other, all these families accepted the suzerainty of the contiguous major powers; and this naturally made them to accept the administrative policies followed by those big powers. The Chālukyas of Vemulavāḍa were influenced by, and adopted, the administrative system of the Rāshtrakūṭas; whereas the Chālukyas of Elamañchili imitated and implemented the procedures of the Eastern Gāṅgas of Kaṭiṅga and of Gaḃapatis. Similar is the case with the other families also. The influence of the Kaḃatīya empire is revealed in the administration of Coastal Āndhra in general and Niḃḃavōlu kingdom in particular. Thus the administrative procedures



of these rulers varied from time to time and place to place. A general account of the administrative organisation is attempted here, taking note of the principal changes as they occur.

King and His Stature:

"Yathārājā tathā prajā" is a convention coming down the generations from times immemorial. It means that the people take their lead from the king; and to mould or mar the character of the people lies in him. Yasastilaka lays great emphasis on the paramount influence of the monarch on his subjects. Kinship was hereditary. The king was the supreme head of the State and the supreme executive of the government. Generally the heir-apparent should be selected in the life time of the ruling king. Usually, the choice fell upon the eldest son; but he was not recognised as a Yuvarāja before he was formally anointed as such.

Many kings are stated to have been learned in polity and interested in the welfare of their subjects. They were the followers of kshatriya dharma. The ideal ruler of the period was the follower of dharma (righteousness), he was learned in polity, patient, thoughtful, courageous, prosperous and truthful. His pursuit of artha (wealth) and kāma (desires including carnal passions) was controlled



by dharma. The Kollīpara plates¹ state that Arikēsari I was a learned and just monarch, proficient in grammar, law, gaīatantra and medicine. He is also said to have been skilled in archery and devoted to the dispensation of justice. Sōmadēva, the author of Nītivākyāmrīta gave much thought to the principles of statecraft and the well-being of the State, and his work gives a picture of the imperial court, besides throwing side lights on the problems of government affecting war and peace.² The Kavvalankārachūdāmanī praises³ Viśvēśvaradēva at length for his scholarship in various subjects. Similarly Arikēsari II of the Vēṃulavāda family, Kusumāyudha IV of the Mudigōṇḍa branch, Vishnuvardhana Mallapa of the Jananāthapura line, Rājanārāyaṇa Koppadēva and Viśvēśvaradēva among the Elamañchilli chiefs and Virabhadra of the Niḍadavōlu rulers, were specially described as adepts in different types of arts which are necessary for kings. Sōmadēva lays great emphasis on the personal supervision of the affairs of the State and on the necessity of strict control to be exercised by the king over his officials.⁴ Sōmadēva seems to regard the proper control and supervision of the activities of the ministers by the king as the first and foremost requisite in the administration of the State.⁵ Eḍarupalle plates declare⁶ that the king would strive for the welfare and prosperity of his people.



Titles like Mahārāja, Chakravartī, Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, Mahāsāmantādhipati and Mahāpātra probably denote the nature and extent of the authority of a particular king or a Chieftain. But as the meaning and status of these titles changed from time to time and area to area, it is not possible to define what these titles actually signify. Conjoint rule is attested to by inscriptions in the Coastal tracts; but such a practice does not get documentation in Telangāna.

We do not come across any references to regency in the administration of the kingdom of these families. By this period, it is known,⁷ that in case a minor was anointed king, the government was carried on by a regent or a council of regency. But such a need for regency did not arise in respect of these families. The association of ladies in the government, which is common in the administration of Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa, is unknown among these families. But there were rare exceptions to this practice. Viriyala Kāmasāni is referred to in the Gudur epigraph,⁸ as one who championed the cause of Bēta, the boy-king of the Kākatiya family during the period of Boṭṭu Bēta of the Mudigonda family. Rudramadevī, the Queen of Chālukya Virabhadra of the Niḍadavōlu family is famous as a ruler in Āndhra history.



We have no detailed and clear description of the pomp and splendour of the royal court. But the records and literature of the period describe the court as crowded with a number of officials. The Yuvarāja and other princes of royal blood, members of the ministerial council, military officers and other high dignitaries of state were the most prominent members of the royal court.⁹ Poets, astrologers, Presidents of guilds, affluent merchants and other notables of the capital were prominent among the non-official members of the Royal Court. Eḍarunelli plates state¹⁰ the Mantri, Purōhita, Sēnāpati, Yuvarāja and Dāvārika were the official members of the Royal Court. In the Royal Court the king must have appeared in colourful robes and decked with ornaments on ceremonial occasions. The Kavyāṅkārachūdāmaṇi and the contemporary Telugu literature give a clear picture of the appearance of the king. He was also accompanied by armed attendants, princes of royal blood, courtiers and dancing girls.

As an indication of their glory and sovereignty the rulers of those days bore lengthy prasaṁśa which include a number of titles some of them being hereditary and the others being achieved by their own valour and talents. As an insignia of royalty they bore emblems and banners etc.



Use of lengthy prasastis before the names of kings was also the common practice. These prasastis narrate the mythical family-origin, prominent details of the kings preceding the donor of that particular record. While all the Chālukya families traced their descent from the Moon, as stated already, Arikēsari II in his Parabhaṇi plates¹¹ dated A.D.966 connected his family with the Sun.

N. Venkataramanayya opines¹² that the idea that Ayōdhya, which is the seat of the Solar line of kings, is also the home of the Chālukyas appears to have been current in the tenth Century A.D.; and that must have been, in all probability, the reason for ascribing them to the Solar family in the Parabhaṇi plates. But Arikēsari I, who lived in the 8th Century, i.e., seven generations earlier than Arikēsari III, states that he belonged to the lunar race. Hence it is appropriate to consider the statement of the Parabhaṇi plates as a mistake. In the Uttarēśvara grant of the Nidadavolu family also there is a reference to their descent from the Sun. Except these two inscriptions i.e., Parabhaṇi plates and the Uttarēśvara grant, all records and literature of these families state them as belonging to the Lunar race. The Krivvaka plates of the twelfth century describe¹³ Kariya-Gonaga of the Mudigonda family as having descended from the king of the



throne of Ayōdhya. The Pañchadhārāla records¹⁴ of Viśvēśvara and Nṛsiṃha and a number of records of the rulers of the remaining families also trace their connections to the Lunar origin. But the peculiarity is that there is no other record except Kollipara plates that spoke about their Lunar descent before the eleventh century. Anyhow all these are mere legends; and they cannot be taken into serious consideration.

Important Officials of the State

That a king should consult the ministers before taking decisions is much stressed in the contemporary literary works. In the Sakalanītisammataṃ,¹⁵ a Telugu anthology of verse culled from various works on polity, it is said that "as a king gets every thing done with the aid of counsellors, he should surround himself with them. He should not fancy that he could order the services of counsellors, financiers and commanders whenever he wanted for that would be like an attempt to dig a well to secure water to extinguish the fire that is burning a house".

Arthasāstra, a work on ancient Hindu polity, also stresses the importance of the ministry. It says¹⁶ that "Sovereignty is possible only with assistance. A single wheel can never move and hence the king shall employ ministers and hear their opinion". It is said in Sakalanītisammataṃ that



"when a king attempts with much pride to discharge his duties, either without consulting his ministers or going against their advice, he falls an easy prey to his enemies who deprive him of his wealth and dominion".¹⁷ We may remember in this context how the Kakatiya king set his foot, by mistake, among sharp thorns as was stated in the Palampet record¹⁸ of Recherla Rudra. Similar statements, conveying warnings to the rulers are found frequently in the literature of the contemporary period. At the same time, political thinkers like Somadēva, as has been stated earlier, regard proper control and supervision of the activities of the ministers by the king as the first and foremost requisite in the administration of the State.¹⁹ Some ministers were known to be monsters of financial corruption; and financial malpractice represents the seamy side of government. Somadēva exhorts kings to save persons who come on business from becoming victims of rapacious officials.²⁰ Mallana in his Rukmānādasharitra states²¹ that the king should not rely entirely on his ministers. It is said that if he entrusts the kingdom entirely to his minister's care and does not look after its affairs himself, the minister himself becomes the master in course of time. We see the truth of this statement from the part played by the ministers in the dethronement of Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvinda IV during the time of



the Vēmūlavāḍa chiefs and of Gaṅga Bhānudeva IV during the period of the Elamañchili Chālukyas. But such an event never occurred among the rulers of these families. These rulers obviated such a contingency by appointing efficient, learned and faithful ministers to look after the affairs of the State. The records of these families mention the terms Mantri, Sachiva, Amātya, Peggāḍa or Preggāḍa, Pradhāni, etc. to denote the office of minister. But the difficulty is that inscriptions very rarely refer to any specific administrative duty discharged by any of these ministers, as a result of which it becomes difficult to define the exact duties allotted to a particular minister. Some of the ministers appear to have been entrusted with the responsibility of administering towns, divisional units or particular regions of the kingdom. The word "Boṭṭunavāni Pradhānulu" in the Kriivaka plates²² give scope to consider this role of ministers. Anyhow, it is difficult to fix the rank of these ministers in the ministerial cadre. Indapa and Rēmana, the ministers of the Mudigonda kingdom, are stated²³ to have saved the king Kusumāditya and his country by taking the necessary steps. Vishṇu the minister of Vīrabhadra of the Niḍadavōlu family is described²⁴ as having borne the entire burden of the kingdom. Koṇḍi Preggāḍa²⁵ the minister of Jananāthapura kingdom, Veṅga entitled 'Sabhamechchugāṇḍa', and Nārāyaṇa,²⁶



the ministers of Nīḍadavōlu kingdom, are stated to be experts in polity, courageous and bold. Sōmadēvasūri opines that the ministers of a king should be men of pure lives, and well-versed in the science of government and loyal to the core. They should be men of high birth and natives of the country. He recommends that a king should have, 3, 5 or 7 ministers. He describes the primary duties of the minister. In his view "a minister should protect, with courage, the citizens who are lacking in fighting spirit and resolution; he should take care of those who are poor by his generous charities; and by removing all cause of disaffection, he should secure the loyalty of those subjects who injected with sedition, whether latent or manifest might indulge in out bursts".²⁷ The true minister of a king is one who is liked by the army and the allies, upright in matters relating to the country and the treasury, and above all devoted to the king.²⁸ The various offices which devolve on ministers are also stated in Yasastilaka. There are references to the office of Sandhi-Virahi or Sandhi-Vigrahaka. Sandhi-Vigrahi Guṇāṅkuśa is said²⁹ to have borne the entire burden of the Vēmulaṇḍa kingdom. The word 'Sandhi-Vigrahika' may be translated as "a minister for peace and war".³⁰ He is an important court official with varied functions.



He was the one in whose presence the rulers generally issued grants. We see him usually entrusted with the drafting of the copper-plate charters. According to Somanadēva a Sandhivirahin should be able to read, write, narrate and interpret all scripts and languages.³¹ Altekar observes that³² one expects the Revenue minister to be entrusted with drafting such charters. But in this period, the work fell within the jurisdiction of the foreign minister, probably because the charters had to describe the genealogy and the exploits of the donor and his family; and the foreign office had the most reliable and up-to-date information on that point. An anonymous text³³ quoted in the Mitākshara expressly states that the Sandhivigrahika should draft the royal charters; and to this injunction the Mitākshara adds that none else should draft them. The Pāshtrakūṭas, the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa and the Eastern Gangas followed the same principle; and these Chālukya families are no exception to that tradition. The Sandhivigrahis must be experts in all Śāstras; and it seems in the majority of cases that office was made hereditary.

The Krivvaka plates³⁴ refer to another important office, that of Śrīkaraṇādhipa. As the Chālukyas of Mudigonda, who issued that record, were at one time the feudatories of the Eastern Chālukyas, it is believed that



they might have adopted some of the administrative institutions of the latter. The Masulinatam plates of Amma II mention³⁵ the Heads of twelve ministerial offices among which one was 'Śrīkarāṇa'. Śrīkarāṇa literally means a Head Karāṇam or a Head of the Revenue department. As in the case of Sandhivigrahaka, it seems the son of a Śrīkarāṇa succeeded to his father's office. Śrīkarāṇa Indavaraja, the minister of the Mudigonda kingdom, was said to be a 'Peggaḍaputra', which means that he was the son of a minister. The same office of Śrīkarāṇa is also known from the records³⁶ of the Chālukyas of Nidadavolu. One of their inscriptions, that from Juttiga, refers to a Śrīkarāṇa Kommana Peggada.

Similar is the case with the office of Tantrapāla. N. Venkataramanayya opines³⁷ that this office refers to the captain of the palace guard. We come across two names, of the father and the son, Nāgamārya and Peddana, as having held the office of Tantrapāla in the periods of Baddega and Arikēsari II respectively. This office seems to be hereditary in Peddana's family in the kingdom of Vemulavāḍa.

As a special reward for their yeoman services, some of the ministers were honoured with distinctive titles, endowments, and even with the power to rule over some province.



Kusumāyudha VI is stated³⁸ to have raised Indana and Rēmana to the position of Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaras, conferring on them the insignia of their new office such as makara-tōraṇa, ballitonqadlu, saliki kūkatlu, badi-dakka, balliyandalam, nidi-mount and viñiāmaras. Māchīmāyya a minister and general of the Western Chālukyas, is stated³⁹ to have been appointed 'samastādhikāri' in the area between Visakhapatnam and Pampavādi, in the middle of the twelfth century.

The ministers were generally of the Brāhmaṇa caste which is in accordance with the advice of the texts on polity, which strongly advise the king to appoint Brāhmaṇas as ministers.⁴⁰ But one exception to this general commendation is found in the later period under the Chālukyas of Śrīkūrmam. It has been pointed out that princes like Vijayāditya, who descended from the Chālukya family of Rājamahēndravara, served the Gaṅga kingdom of Kalinga as ministers.⁴¹ Except this, there is no reference to a non-Brāhmaṇa minister in the governments of these rulers. These ministers tendered their advice to the king on all important matters. The king was not, however, bound to honour their recommendation. His decision was final on all important issues. M. Somasekhara Sarma rightly observed⁴² that the subjects fared ill or well



in accordance with the natural inclinations and enlightenment approach of the king. We have seen how Kusumāyudha VI was protected and how his kingdom was restored to him by the timely support and resourceful cooperation of Indapa and Rēmana.⁴³ But this does not mean that ministers were exercising absolute command over the activities of the king. Their powers may be either increased or decreased according to the will of the ruler and the needs of the moment. Some records state how the ministers had to obtain permission from the king before they made grants. Veṅga-Sachiva, the minister of Veṅgiśvara II (A.D. 1233) of the Niḍadavōlu family, obtained permission before he made grants in Dendulur.⁴⁴ Even if they failed to take prior permission of the king, they must communicate the same to the royal palace immediately after the issue of their grants. That there is such a reference is borne out by the Pūrī plates of Purushōttama⁴⁵ of the Śrīkūrmam family. Apart from these, another type of grants is also found in this period. At Appikonda, an area which lay in the kingdom of Elamañchili, Māchimaṃya, the general and minister of the Western Chālukya Sōmēśvara III, confirmed the grant⁴⁶ of a Dēva-bhōga village made earlier. By this it can be inferred that the conqueror generally used to ratify the earlier grants given by the preceding dynasties. Not only the



officials, but even princes and Yuvarājas also need permission of the king before they made any grant. In a record dated A.D.1106 at Vēmūlavāḍa, Prince Sōmēśvara obtained permission of his father to offer a flower-garden to the temple.⁴⁷ All these evidences go to prove that the authority of the ministers changed from time to time, depending on the exigencies of the times and the stature of the king. Next to the king and ministry, the Yuvarāja is an important office in the administration of the kingdom. Texts on polity state that the minister and the Yuvarāja are the two arms of the king.⁴⁸ We rarely come across this office of Yuvarāja mentioned in the records of these families. But the practice of installing the king's son or nearest relative as Yuvarāja appears to have been in vogue. At the time of installation of the heir-apparent or Yuvarāja, it appears that he was invested with a necklace or kaṇṭhiya. This custom prevailed among the dynasties of Rāshtrakūṭas, Chālukyas of Vēṅgī and Gaṅgas of Kaṭiṅga; and, in the absence of contradictory evidence, it would be reasonable to surmise that these rulers also followed a similar practice. In the Eḍarupalli re-issued plates of the Jananāthapura family there is a reference⁴⁹ to Yuvarāja in association with Mantri, Purōhita, Sēnapati and Dauvārika. From this, it is evident



that the Yuvarāja is one among the Pañcha Pradhānas, and continued to hold an important position, as in the Eastern Chālukya period. The Pedacherukūru inscription of Vishnuvardhana refers⁵⁰ to one Yuvarāja named Rāmadēva. Thus the office of Yuvarāja was not unknown to these families, and we may reasonably surmise that he was actively associated with the day-to-day administration and partook in the ministerial deliberations. Also, he used to participate in all important military expeditions. Iṣimarti Gaṇḍa, the son of Chālukya Bhīma I (A.D. 892-922) of the Vēṅgī kingdom, is stated⁵¹ to have participated in the battles of Peruvengūru and Niravadyapura. Sometimes these heirs-apparent were appointed as Viceroys to rule over a particular province. And this is seen when Kulōttunga Chōḍa nominated his sons to be the Viceroys of Vēṅgī, after he went to rule over the South.

Other important officers who assisted in the administration of the kingdom are the Purōhita, the Sēnapati, the Dauvarika and the Bhaṇḍārādhikāri.

Purōhita is an important member of the ministerial council, who partook in the administrative deliberations and the secret consultations of the ruler. As knowledge of Dandanīti was one of the qualifications for a Purōhita,



it is likely that his advice was sought and listened to with respect, even in matters affecting administration. A knowledge of polity, scholarship in three Vēdas, competence to harm the works of enemy kings (probably by Abhichāra), and a detailed grasp of propitiatory and beneficial rites are the essential qualifications for a Purōhita as quoted in the Sakalanītisammataṃ⁵² from an old Telugu version of the Kāmandaka. Similar is the case with the offices of Sēnādhipati and Dauvārika. They are also mentioned in the records along with Mantri, Purōhita and Yuvarāja. Generally Sēnādhipati means the commander-in-chief of the army. Though in the early stages, only Brāhmanas were appointed to hold this office, gradually caste became secondary and selection was made upon the skill and capability of the person.

Next in importance in the administration is the office of Dauvārika. From very early times, both in texts on polity and in inscriptions, the Dauvārika is mentioned as one of the highest officers of the State. Records like Eḍarupalli grant⁵³ include him in the Pañchapradhānas. He is generally referred to as one of the dignitaries present, whenever the king issued any grant. There are occasions when the Dauvārikas issued grant on behalf of the ruler.



The Śrīkūrmam record dated A.D.1353 mentions⁵⁴ the issue of a grant by a Dauvārika on behalf of Bhānudeva III. But, in general, the duty of Dauvārika is to control entry into, and exit from, the Palace or the Royal camp; and audience with the king is granted by previous appointment with the Dauvārika.⁵⁵

The duties and qualifications of various officials of the king are dealt with by Sūmadēva in Yasastilaka as well as Nītivākyaṃrita. Dūta, Dandanāyaka, Akshapatalika, Vāristhaka are some of the prominent posts described by Sūmadēva.⁵⁶ In his opinion the Dūta or envoy should be an aged Brāhmaṇa, learned, eloquent, forbearing in the face of provocation and amiable; he should be efficient, courageous, pure, wise, bold and ready-witted and resourceful. Even when an envoy is entrusted by his master with a provocative message, he should regulate his speech to fit in with the temperament, character, and the stature and resources of the king to whose court he is sent.⁵⁷

The Commander-in-Chief or Dandanāyaka should be valiant experienced in the practice of arms and skilled in martial exercises and manoeuvres, and well-versed in the Arthasāstra. Akshapatalika held charge of State records; and Vāristhaka was the chief of the secret agents or spies.⁵⁸



Besides these ministers and dignitaries there were numerous other officers of other cadres who carried out responsible duties in the administration of the kingdom. 'Maṇḍala Sunkadapreggaḍa', an officer who dealt with the collection of taxes, is referred to in the Nārāyaṇagiri record⁵⁹ of Goṇaga of the Mudigonda family. Similarly, the offices of Parikshas and of Mahāpatras, which are not lower in cadre than that of Provincial governors are known from the records of the Chālukyas of Srīkūṣmā.⁶⁰ This administrative system of the Srīkūṣmā Chālukyas came to be adopted on account of the influence of the Gaṅga administrative set-up. Maḥi, Voharāṇa, Karaṇa, Rāyasam, Sunka Karaṇa and Talāri etc. also figure in the administrative service of these Chālukyas.

Main Departments of the Government:

Revenue, finance, military and judiciary departments are the main branches of organisation in the administrative set-up. Though inscriptions and literature refer to the existence of these offices and departments, they do not explain their actual functions. Even then, in the light of the administrative procedure of other contemporary dynasties and literature, we can know to some extent the details about their duties.



Revenue Department:

Owing to its importance in the lives of the people individual as well as civic, revenue department occupies the first place among all the branches of a government. Moreover, its duty was the collection of various taxes from the public; and it was having transactions with various other departments. Its main function was to assess the income and fix-up the expenditure of the State. Baddena and Mallana, the authors of the works on polity in the contemporary period, mention various sources⁶¹ from which a king derived his revenue. They mention the share in the produce of the land paid by the farmers; and the taxes levied on mines, cattle, trade, pleasure-gardens, etc. and the tolls on vehicles and for the protection of the fort.⁶² Let us briefly discuss these levies in the light of the records of these families. Ari, Sunkamu and Kappamu are the general terms used to denote tax in these sources.

The most important source of revenue was land revenue. Land was surveyed properly with gada or kōla, a pole of fixed length; and we come across a number of such measuring rods which differ from time to time and from province to province.⁶³ A work on Kshētragaṇita in the period of the Kākatiyas states that in different areas there were different



kinds of poles of varying measurement.⁶⁴ We do not know whether this land survey was periodical. There are a number of references to land survey both in records and in literature. Madālapāñī, a temple record in Pūrī, refers to such survey under the Eastern Gāṅgas.⁶⁵ The extent of land was expressed in puttis and tūmus, 20 tūmus being equal to one putti.⁶⁶ They are volumetric measures and one putti of land means the area in which one putti volume of seed could be sown. Khāri is the sanskrit equivalent of the Telugu word Putti or Khanduga, and we find the usage of abbreviations 'Pu' or 'Kha' for puttis or Khandukas and 'Tu' for Tūmus.⁶⁷ Land measured out for private or public purposes was marked off by boundary stones.

Land was classified into wet, dry and garden categories. The records of the period refer to Jalakhētram or nirunēla for wet land,⁶⁸ Chouka bhūmi or Velipolamu⁶⁹ for dry land and Tōṇṭa gaṭṭu or Tōṭa bhūmi for garden land.⁷⁰ They were assessed in accordance with the estimated yield of the crop. The land taxation under these rulers was probably high. These kingdoms were almost continuously engaged in incessant warfare and their opponents were also powerful rulers. The military expenditure, therefore, must have been very heavy; and the taxation, therefore, could not



have been light. It is not unlikely that the government may have periodically revised its tax demand in view of the critical circumstances, or its own needs. Basing on the Vilasa grant of Prōlayanāyaka, M. Somasekhara Sarma thought⁷¹ that the tax on wet lands in which paddy was sown had been collected in kind; and all other taxes, to whatever category they might belong, were collected in cash. How paddy was collected and where that was stored still pose a question. While collecting taxes the officers followed some methods from which there was no deviation. In Yaśastilaka mention was made of some charges brought against the king's minister. The minister was alleged to have committed three irregularities; demanding unpaid labour at the time of sowing, collection of dues while the ears of corn were still unripe, and allowing unbridled movement of troops at the harvesting season.⁷² In Nītivākyaṃrita Sōmadēva declares that the collection of dues while the ears of corn are unripe depopulates a country, and the movement of troops at the time of harvest leads to famine.⁷³ It seems the king's officers were present at the harvest season and collected their revenue. These officers might have fixed the rates of assessment on the basis of old or new irrigation facilities available to the cultivated lands. Similarly, when an old canal dried up, they came to the rescue



of the farmers and tried to provide alternative water-sources. One such settlement was made in A.D.941, when an old canal dried up in the province of Banavāsi.⁷⁴ Similar measures might have been adopted by the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Chālukyas of Vemulavāda.

A Chāṭu verse of Śrīnātha of the 14th Century expresses⁷⁵ his inability to pay the rent of seven hundred tan̄kas on the land farmed out to him in the village of Boddupalli on the banks of river Krishna. This verse offers a clue to two things. Firstly, it discloses that in that period huge tracts of land owned by the State were farmed or leased out periodically to private individuals for a fixed rent. Secondly, remission of tax was not a must for the State inspite of the failure of crops owing to natural calamities. In this connection, one interesting question is about the ownership of land by the State. Inscriptions point out that land was owned separately by the State and by the subjects.⁷⁶ The land owned by the subjects includes dēvadēya, Brahmadēya, the land-offerings to temples or mathas and Brāhmaṇas, and land-grants to royal servants as reward or remuneration for their services. Temple lands and aḡrahāra lands were exempt from payment of taxes.⁷⁷ Inscriptions refer to individual holdings which could be sold, bought or mortgaged or donated with all proprietary rights.⁷⁸ Inheritance of



land was respected. When a donation of land was made, the donee was given all kinds of proprietary rights. There are a number of references in the records testifying to the private ownership of land, and to its sale and purchase.⁷⁹ Even if a king of another region wanted to grant land or village outside his jurisdiction, he had first to purchase it and then donate it.⁸⁰ Besides these private lands, the State itself owned some lands or some villages entirely; we come across references to such lands in the records of these Chālukyas.⁸¹ In an inscription of Būrugugaḍḍa, it is stated that the land granted was a specified portion of what belonged to Rāchevāru.⁸²

An incomplete record of the Chālukyas of Jananāthapura⁸³ is to be necessarily mentioned in this context. From his camp at Niravadyavrōlu, king Vijayāditya issued an ordinance to the people of Mallīśvara-Mahādēvapaṭṭana. It proclaims the rates of taxation like this:

Ū(d)puvarinēla - for puttī of land	:	2 chinnaś
Ū(d)punēla	-do-	: 6 chinnaś
Netṭunēla	-do-	: 4 chinnaś
Jonnanēla	-do-	: damaged
Kottanēla	-do-	: 2 chinnaś
Nuvunēla	-do-	: damaged



Besides land revenue, there was a number of sources of income to the government. Mines, industries, cattle etc. were some among them. Though mines are known to be a profitable source to replenish the royal treasury, we have no references to them in the records and literature of the period of these Chālukyas. But this omission does not mean that mining industry was not known. Viśvēśvara is said to have erected a Garudārōhana pillar made of iron at Simhāchalam.⁸⁴ Taxes on industries (Vṛttikaṭṇālu) seemed to have made the greatest contribution to the income of a State.⁸⁵ Maṇḍala-sunka-depreṣṣaḍa, Nēla-sunkayādhikāri etc. are known as the regional officers of taxes. Their main duties were, probably, to collect tolls and similar other taxes in a particular province. Siddhāya, a tax on articles manufactured, Viṣṭi, a tax levied on labour from the poorer classes, Ilari, a tax on house were the other miscellaneous taxes.⁸⁶ It is strange that a 13th Century Yādava inscription attests to the prevalence of tax levied on persons, who were not blessed with male issue.⁸⁷ Quite contrary to this, there are evidences pointing to the collection of maternity tax (Puriṭi sunkamu) under the Reddis of the 14th Century.⁸⁸ But we do not come across such references to these peculiar taxes in the records of these Chālukya princes.



Cattle has been considered as a valuable asset from ancient times, owing to the various advantages it conferred on the people. Society had to depend upon cattle for several of its needs. The Mahābhārata mentions 'gōgrahana' or 'capture of cattle', as a measure to cut the important source of revenue of a State. The Kāvvalankārachūdamanī⁸⁹ refers to Gōsthāna, the royal cattle-shed in the kingdom of Elamañchili. In the Kolanupalli record also, there is a mention about Kōsta Sthāna.⁹⁰ To feed cattle, which were innumerable, extensive pasture lands were necessary. Any water land or forest land could provide pasture, and it was suitable for feeding the cattle. These lands were under the direct control of the State and were let out for rent to the farmers for grazing their cattle on them.⁹¹ Such grazing tax was called pullari. That pullari was collected from the people is borne out by a record of Rudradēva of the Nidadavōlu family in A.D.1299,⁹² in which he granted the income drawn as pullari to a temple.

Another source of income to the royal treasury was kappam. This was the tribute paid by the subordinate feudal lords to the ruler. It is also probable that some villages were farmed out to influential individuals for a fixed rent.⁹³ Remission of tax on villages is not unknown. Ammarāja Vijayāditya, the Chālukya king of Vēngī (A.D.945-970) mentions,⁹⁴ in a record, this type of remission,



(Asya grāmasya Kappābhidhānam Karam Varitam). And these Chālukya families might also have adopted the same practice. But this remission of tax was not always available though circumstances warranted it. There are references to the sufferings of Śrīnātha for his inability to pay tax on the rented village of Boddupalli in the Krishna District, when the crop was destroyed by hostile natural forces.

Customary presentations to the king on various occasions, and fines collected for various crimes from the people, also formed an appreciable fraction of the total income to the State.⁹⁵

Beyond these regular taxes, the State put-forward emergency demands on the people. As this period was marked by continuous warfare, occasionally the king demanded huge amounts. The Nītiyākyaṃrita states⁹⁶ that on such occasions, the king had the right to tax even the temples and Brāhmaṇas, and demand the wealth collected for sacrifice to be made over to him.

Military Department:

As the entire period, beginning from the Chālukyas of Vemulavāda and closing with the down fall of the Chālukyas of Elamañchili, witnessed continual warfare,



the military department played a key role in the administration of these minor kingdoms. But very little is known of the military organisation. Elephants, cavalry, and infantry are the main wings of the army.

Elephants, as we know from the records and literature, formed the principal strength and support of an army, in the warfare of these rulers. In all the battles of Vinayāditya Yuddhamalla I of Vemulavāda, elephants seemed to have played a notable role. It was probably to express his pleasure with their creditable performance that he caused all his elephants to be bathed in a reservoir filled with oil at Pōdana,⁹⁷ the present Bodhan in Nizamabad district. The Vikramārajunaviṣayam confirms⁹⁸ this epigraphical evidence and adds that the number of elephants was five hundred and that they bathed not in one but in a number of dīrghikas filled with oil. Though this event seems to have no historical value, it was out of deep sentimental attachment to the elephant segment of the army corps that it was described as one of the outstanding achievements of Vinayāditya Yuddhamalla. Sōmadēvasūri in his Yasastilaka describes the play with elephants.⁹⁹ It is also said while in training, the elephants were addressed in prose and verse by the instructors.¹⁰⁰ In Abhilashitārthachintāmaṇi,¹⁰¹ Sōmēśvara, the Chāḷukya ruler of Kalyāṇa, says that the



elephants obtained from Kāṭṭiṅga were the best and the most competent. The same eulogy finds place in Yasastilaka.¹⁰² We know that Arikēśari I, the son of Vinayāditya Yuddhamalla I, conquered Trikaṭṭiṅga.¹⁰³ Kāṭṭiṅga, famous for elephants, must have bowed down to his authority owing to his superior strength in elephants. Moreover, Anantavarma Chōḍa Gaṅgaḍēva, a contemporary and relative of Vishnuvardhana of the Jananāthapura line of Chāḷukyas, bore the title "Navanidhisahasra Kuṅjarādhiśvara",¹⁰⁴ the lord of ninety-nine thousand elephants; and this shows how much importance was given to the strength of elephant corps in the armies of this period. Arikēśari I was praised in the Kollipara plates¹⁰⁵ as a master of gaja-tantra. Again in describing the expedition over Kāṭṭiṅga, prominence is given to the role of the elephants of Narasimha II of the same family, in demolishing the walls of the Prākāra and in tearing off the flags of the pavement of the courtyard, thus making the floor uneven.¹⁰⁶ It is clear that behind all victories, lay the elephant-strength of the Chāḷukyas of Vēmulaṅga. Yasastilaka states that¹⁰⁷ the elephant-lore, like the science of horses, was regarded as an auxiliary branch of statecraft in view of the important part played by elephants in warfare. Titles like Ammanagandhavāraṇa, and Gandhēbha-vidyādhara borne by the Chāḷukyas of Vēmulaṅga, suggest their keen knowledge of training elephants for wars.



About the remaining families we have no clear picture of the use of elephants in their battles. Veluṇṭivāriyaṁśāvali states¹⁰⁸ that in the attack made against the Chālukya chiefs at Jallipalli, the Velama chiefs used an army which included 700 elephants.

Cavalry forms the next important division of the army. As swift and lightning charges on enemy forces were possible only with the help of the horses, the cavalry force became an important division of the army.¹⁰⁹ While describing the series of conquests of Narasimha II of the Vemulavāda family it is said¹¹⁰ that he bathed his horses in the waters of the river Ganges; and that the cavalry played an active role in his conquest over Mahipala. In the later period, the Velamas put to the front 6000 cavalry in their expedition against the Chālukyas of Jallipalli, as stated in the Veluṇṭivāriyaṁśāvali.¹¹¹

Another segment of the army, i.e., the infantry, consisted of foot-soldiers, who fought in battles with various weapons. The Palanativārīcharitra and a few other literary works of the contemporary period mention Selagōlas, Vilukāndru, Kaijītagāndru and Ekkatlu as belonging to this category.¹¹² Each warrior was equipped with bow and arrows, sword and shield and other necessary weapons of offence



and defence. Daggers, maces, spears, and battle-axes were the other known weapons generally used in battles.¹¹³ Different kinds of musical instruments like jayaghaṇṭa, kāhala, śringa, būra, bhērī, dāmayī, tapoṭalu, śaṅkha and so on were played during the marches of the army and in the battles.¹¹⁴ Besides these, all the equipment and provisions, needed for an army, followed it.

Besides these forces, Vēgarulu or spies were employed to scout the movements of the enemy, and to scoop secret strategical information. A number of such spies were under the king's employ to fish out information within and outside the country. In Yasastilaka, Sōmadēva referred to this system of espionage, of employing spies by the rulers to collect secret information.¹¹⁵ It states that occasionally maid servants were employed to collect information from the royal courts.¹¹⁶ Amōghavarsha I, the Rāshtrakūṭa emperor, is known¹¹⁷ to have covered the courts of hostile kings with thousands of courtesans for this purpose.

How the recruitment was made into the army is not clearly known. Sōmadēvasūri stated that the military personnel was recruited not only from one locality but from different parts of the country.¹¹⁸ But there is no uniform method of selection in regard to this recruitment. Basing on



the references in the Telugu literature of the Reddi period, M. Somasekhara Sarma expressed¹¹⁹ the view that there were special officers to enlist recruits to the army. These officers, called Kālarulu, were busy collecting the recruits sometime before the actual beginning of a battle.¹²⁰ We do not have an exact picture of the training imparted to the army at various stages.

Consultations with the Jyōtishkas and Sakunikas for fixing an auspicious day, and the worshipping of the tutelary deity precede the march of the army. The Kāvvalankārachūdamanī refers¹²¹ to this requirement of consultations with Jyōtishkas before the king goes on an expedition. Kings used to grant a village or some land in a village to the warriors who distinguished themselves in war.¹²² Conferment of various privileges and badges of honour were the other ways of recognising martial achievements.¹²³

Next let us turn to the forts of this period. A fort can be generally said to be the heart of the kingdom. The strength of a kingdom depends entirely upon the situation and resources of its forts. In many cases the value of a fort depends more or less on its geographical location. Different types of forts have come to our notice from the records and literature of this period. Giridurgas, Jaladurgas,



Vanadurgas and Sthaladurgas are the four kinds of forts. Of these, the first three types were completely under the influence of topography and were regarded as natural forts. The Kavyāṅkārachūdamani describes the glorious victories of Viśvēśvaradēva over his enemies who had taken refuge in these four kinds of durgas.¹²⁴ We have a number of references to the forts of all these types. The inaccessible fort of Chitrakūṭa,¹²⁵ which is said to have been captured by Vinayāditya Yuddhamalla I, is definitely a Giridurga. Kollēru fort was a Jaladurga. Though the locality where the 'āmbusamara' took place between Sōladaganda Baddega and Chāḷukya Bhīma I, is not clearly known, it is opined by scholars,¹²⁶ that it definitely took place in and around Kollēru, a Jaladurga in the Vēṅgī region. Elamañchili, which is safely situated in the forest tracts of Madhyama Kaḷiṅga fringed with hills, can be considered a Vanadurga. Vēmūlavāḍa, Koravi, Niravadyapura and Rājamahēndravara were known as 'sthaladurgas'. Jananāthapura, though its exact location is not known, must be either a 'sthaladurga' or a 'vanadurga', for a major area around the river Pampa (in the East Godavari district) was a great jungle.¹²⁷ All these forts have drinking water resources either offered directly by nature as rivers, or provided by artificial arrangements like the digging of huge tanks. Vēmūlavāḍa and Elamañchili



are adjacent to rivers Mannēru and Śārada respectively, whereas Rājamahēndravara and Niravadyapura are situated on either bank of the Gōdāvarī. These rivers were used not only as a source of water but also as a means of strategical importance.

Generally Sandhivigrahis played an important role in drafting peace settlements between the inimical groups. It was a custom observed during this period to offer a tribute to the victorious king which comprised girls, besides jewels, elephants and horses. Sometimes friendship between warring kings was sought to be forged on marital alliances. The marriage of Śīlamahādēvī, the daughter of Vishṇuvardhana IV of Vēngī, with Rāshtrakūṭa Nirupama Dhruva, which was probably arranged on the initiative of Arikēsari I is the best example of this type of alliance.¹²⁸ The Kāvvalankārachūdamani¹²⁹ refers to this traditional mode of conciliation among hostile chiefs on the secure foundation of marital alliance.

The Velucōṭivāriyamsāvali, narrates the peculiar customs and rites observed on the battle field. In the 13th, 14th centuries, during the rule of the Rēcherlas, the practice of 'Bommapettūṭa' was in vogue.¹³⁰ A record from Simhāchalam dated A.D.1357,¹³¹ extols Arjunadēva III of the Matsya family who ruled in Oḍḍādi, (which is adjacent to the kingdom



of Elamañchili) as one whose feet shone with the glittering ornament containing the images of twelve kings. (Dvādasa bhūṇa rūpakshacita Prodbhāsi Śrīpādah). It means that the Matsya king who defeated twelve kings had their effigies carved and set on his ornamental anklet. This tradition is frequently referred¹³² to in the Veluḡōṭivārivamsāvali. Carving an image of an enemy either on the anklets of victors or on their spittoons, signified figuratively the kings they stamped out or destroyed and those they humiliated or disgraced.¹³³ Such a practice points to the savage attitudes of the times and appears quite unchivalrous to modern eyes.

Insulting names of dynasties and their emblems was the other common practice found in this period. For all prestigious dynasties, this was a blot to their power. In the Vemavaram plates of Allāḍareddi's son Vemāreddi,¹³⁴ it is said, that by the flames of the intense heat of his valour, rocks become pulverised, hogs below in panic, tender sprouts get withered, the fish-tribe sneak into deep waters, snakes coil in their holes, cobras lurk in covert, cattle run helter-skelter with grass in the mouths, the lord of elephants seeks shelter in the river. In this eulogy, the terms rocks, hogs, tender sprouts, fish-tribe, snakes, cobras, cattle and elephants are used to represent either the emblems or the names of different dynasties, over whom



he scored victories. The Chālukyas of Elamañchilli happened to be one of them. This type of venting venom on enemies humbled in war can also be traced in Kāvvalankāra-chūdāmaṇi,¹³⁵ and Velugōtivarivamsāvali.¹³⁶

Another curious and peculiar rite that was described in the Velugōtivarivamsāvali¹³⁷ is 'Raṇamukudupūṭa'. The work says that it was performed by the Velugōṭi chiefs after their conquest over the Chālukya chiefs at Jallipalli in the fourteenth century. 'Raṇamukudupūṭa' is stated to be an Āgamaic rite performed on the field of battle (at the place where the enemies are slain). Digambarī, Kālī, Mahākālī, Śākinī, Dākini, Bāyila, Kāyini, Vīra Bhētāla, Bhairava, Vīrabhadra and Raṇapōturāju are the bhūtādhidēvatas that are invoked during the performance of the rite. Except in that context, we do not come across this type of rite performed on the battle-fields.

Village Administration

As the rule of these families did not extend over large areas, the nature of administrative set-up in respect of the sub-divisions of their kingdoms cannot be determined accurately. Their kingdoms must obviously have been divided into several small provinces for administrative convenience. It has already been stated that terms like



vishavas, nāḍus and maṇḍalas are mentioned in the records, but it is difficult to determine the extent of these units precisely. Moreover, the use of these terms, meant to denote territorial divisions, differed from province to province and from age to age. But it is possible to gather, to some extent, the details of village administration of the period from the available sources.

Generally, the villages were grouped into units, each unit being named after its principal village, coupled with the number of villages contained in it. It is stated in the Kurkyāla inscription¹³⁸ of Jinavallabha that Veṅḡpaṛṇu, the native place of Jinavallabha, was the main village of the division Sapta-grāmas in Veṅḡnāḍu. A.S. Altekar observes, that this would show that the dicta in the Mahābhārata, Manu and Vishnu Smṛitis, that government should group together some villages for administrative purposes was based on actual practice and not on imaginary calculations. It has been stated that these numerical figures represent the number of villages and hamlets included in the divisions concerned. We have a number of such examples i.e. Sapādalakṣa, Shaṭsahasrāvanī, Pammi-12, Aṭukūru-70, Rēpāka-12, Mogaḍupalli-12, Veṅḡ-1000, in the records of these Chāḷukya chiefs.¹⁴⁰ But there are different views regarding the meaning of these numerical figures.



Scholars like Rice have opined¹⁴¹ that these figures indicate the revenue-yield of those particular divisions in gold coins. The use of these figures in such a sense is not unknown; but, as observed by Altekar,¹⁴² there is a difficulty in accepting this suggestion. Is it proper to imagine that the revenues yielded by these divisions were so meagre as to be limited to a small number of gold coins? If we accept the view, we have to say Pammi, Rēpōka, Mogadupalli etc. yielded only 12 gold coins each per annum. Not only this; there is another difficulty. Mogadupalli-12 is stated¹⁴³ to have been given to Viriyāla Erra by Boṭṭu Bēta as a great reward for the magnificent help rendered by the former to him in re-occupying his Koravi kingdom. In such context, is it not ridiculous that he should honour him with the award of a village which yielded an annual revenue of only 12 gold coins? It is, therefore, proper to consider these numerical figures as the number of villages and hamlets included in the divisions concerned. There are other views also about the significance of the numerals that they represent population, number of households, etc.; and all such interpretations expose themselves to a similar criticism. More recently G.S. Dikshit made thorough discussion¹⁴⁴ of the various view points and analysed these numerical suffixes into three categories - (i) figures upto one thousand, (ii) figures in thousands, and (iii) figures



in lakhs, He has convincingly explained that the figures upto one thousand indicate the number of villages, towns and cities; figures in thousands refer to nāḍus; and figures in lakhs refer to the revenue.

The fondness of the villagers to their places of residence was so intense that even if the village was desolated by famine or war, they returned again to the old site after the trouble was over. They carried on as usual, unmindful of the change. They did not care to what power the kingdom was transferred, or to what sovereign it was subject, so long as they were uninterrupted in the exercise of their rights and privileges in their villages. In the words of M. Somasekhara Sarma "this is the reason why the stereotyped form of this village organisation defied many a political storm which raged furiously in the country, and the village stood compact, and firm".¹⁴⁵

Every village, in this period, was usually under the charge of a headman, whose office was a very ancient institution.¹⁴⁶ The invariable mention of the village headman in the records of this period shows that he was intimately connected with the administration at that grass-root level. Owing to this position and status, the headman must have taken a prominent part in the meeting of the village council convened for the purpose of the settlement of private disputes



in the village.¹⁴⁷ He was also the village magistrate having powers to try petty criminal cases. Together with his village councils, he had considerable jurisdiction over the village affairs. They could try and decide cases worth any big amount. The King's courts did not entertain any cases in the first instance. It was only when the parties felt dissatisfied with the decisions of the village headman and village councils that they could take their cases in appeal to the king. Somadēva in his Nītiyākvāmṛita states¹⁴⁸ that that was the policy followed during that period. In actual practice, however, the examination of the parties, their witnesses etc. seems to have been delegated by the village council to a small sub-committee, the members of which used to receive a certain honorarium from the fees that were charged from the disputants.¹⁴⁹ The trials were usually held in the village temple.

In a majority of cases the post of the village headman was hereditary; only occasionally he was nominated by the king. As honorarium for the discharge of all these duties, he was awarded the income yielded by certain specified lands.

From the hoary past, the village headman seems to have been incharge of the defence of the village. During this peric



the villages in some parts of the country did not enjoy absolute peace.¹⁵⁰ There were constant wars going on; and every villager had then the prospect of winning the general's parasol for distinguished service. A majority of the population must have been well-trained in the use of arms.¹⁵¹ The presence of numerous ambitious feudatories naturally led to several skirmishes between neighbouring villages, provoked usually by the desire to lift cattle. In such circumstances, it is not improbable that the village headman and the village council played a keen role in settling a majority of problems that confronted the village.

During this period, Kulavrithis were in vogue; and the village flourished as an economically independent and compact unit. The villagers themselves managed the affairs of the village. Parabrahmma Sastry observes¹⁵² that the village in Āndhra during this period achieved self-sufficiency and affluence. This economic prosperity made the isolation of the village more marked. No villager of the day was generally able to see beyond the limits of his own village. As M. Somasekhara Sarma observed¹⁵³ the village in these times was the bulwark of religion, tradition and custom.



Law, Justice and Punishment:

There is very little information about the procedure followed by these rulers in the administration of justice. However, in the light of contemporary records of the other families and of literature, we can make out the various principles that governed the dispensation of justice during this period. Moreover, the Koravi inscription,¹⁵⁴ which is supposed to be the first Telugu record to deal with various crimes and punishments, reveals the criminal code adopted in the period. The authority of the ancient Smṛitis and Dharma Śāstras is well attested to by the Mitākshara of Viṣṇanēśvara and Nityakyaṃrita of Sōmadēvasūri, who seem to have been the legal exponents of the day. The Sarasvativilāsa which is called the 'Smṛitisangraha' and which is supposed to have been written by Pratāpa Rudra Gajapati, a later contemporary of the Elamañchili Chālukya family, also presents a systematic account of the procedure of law. How far these texts had a direct bearing on the administration, we do not know; but it is observed that at least some of them were written with the object of producing a work of practical utility. The principles laid down by Viṣṇanēśvara in the Mitākshara are followed in a number of transactions of this period. A record of Aniyāṅka Bhīma III dated A.D.1230 found at



Śrīkūrmam refers¹⁵⁵ to the procedure adopted by the king in dealing with a boundary dispute between two villages. According to the Mitākshara,¹⁵⁶ boundary disputes between villages, in the absence of concrete evidence, should be settled by a judicial tribunal, the members of which were to be residents of the neighbouring villages. To settle the dispute, referred to in the record, Aniyāṅka Bhīma III appointed a judicial tribunal which was presided over by one Naraharimuni, and which comprised selected members from the neighbouring villages. This judicial record from Śrīkūrmam is an ample testimony to the traditional approach of the ruling authorities in the dispensation of justice. Therefore it is not unreasonable to assume that the principles of law and justice discussed in these books found a practical application in the law courts of the period. Yāśastilaka warns¹⁵⁷ that a minister should exercise independence of judgment in expressing his views, and his aim should not merely be to please the king.

To establish Dharma and to punish the criminals were the essential duties of the ruling authority. Though there were a number of courts and a number of councillors, with gradations at different regional centres, the king was the fountain head of justice. The Kollīnāra plates¹⁵⁸ state that kings like Arikēśari I were proficient in law. There are references to Dharmāsana or Dharmasabha, the court



of justice, in the contemporary period. 'Adhisthāyaka-Sūristhāna' is referred to in a record¹⁵⁹ of the Vēmula-vāda Chālukyas. 'Vidvanmahājanas', a council of scholars, is referred to in a record¹⁶⁰ of Kumāradēvam. According to Sarasvatīvilāsa¹⁶¹ assessors should be seven, five or three in number. They should be well-versed in Vēda and law, and truthful and impartial. Those who do not know the customs of the country, those who do not follow the Śāstra, the lunatics, the cruel and the miserly, should not be appointed as assessors. Though different kinds of courts have been noticed in the contemporary works, we do not find any specific references to any of them in the records of these rulers. The Kṛīḍābhirāma, of the Reddi-Vijayanagara period reveals¹⁶² that an arbitration court, temporarily set-up to decide a civil dispute, was called 'dharmāsana'. It decides all the disputes regarding lands, houses, debts, sales, purchases, assault, inheritance, violation of agreements etc. The witness would be thoroughly examined before deciding a case. Guilds had their own courts and they decided their own cases and they were ratified by the king. In the Vaiśya-purāṇam we have seen¹⁶³ how the council of the Vaiśyas of the eighteen cities stood united against the king of Rājamahēndravar in opposing his misdeed. There is a reference in the Rukmāṇoḍa-charitra to 'kūṭasākshulu', witnesses who gave false evidence.¹⁶⁴ Some serious cases, concerning offences



and crimes committed secretly, or lacking any direct evidence to prove guilt, were decided by ordeals and oaths. In trials by ordeal, the general belief was that the divine agency would intervene to expose guilt or to vindicate innocence.¹⁶⁵ The fire ordeal, 'Maddupattuta' is referred to in the literature of this period.¹⁶⁶ It is said that when Kākatīya Pratāparudra, who surrendered a valuable portion of his treasure to Khusru Khan to conclude peace, the Muslim general is said to have asked the king to submit himself to an ordeal so that he could believe that Pratāparudra had surrendered all his wealth.¹⁶⁷ This shows that even the Muslims were well acquainted with and recognised the value attached to, the traditional practice of trials by ordeal. Nicolo dei Conti observes¹⁶⁸ that in criminal charges, statements made on oath were credited with truth when there was no witness to prove the offence.

Investigation of crime was left to policemen, who are referred to as Talārulu, and Kāvalivāru. Their duties were to prevent crime and theft and to bring offenders to book. They were the essential servants of the village. The chief executive police officer in the village was designated as Paṭṭālaka or Paṭṭēla, a paṭēl.¹⁶⁹ There is a reference to the office of Paṭṭēla in a Chālukya inscription¹ from Budamanārāyalapāḍu. Paduvari, a Kannada equivalent



for Patvāri, finds mention in the Koravi record also.¹⁷¹ The office of Talarī is mentioned in the Kolanupalli record.¹⁷² In this connection another interesting traditional system worthy of mention was the Acchukāvali system. According to this, when a theft was committed and a police officer failed to trace the thief and recover of lost property, he was bound to make good the loss and pay it to the loser.¹⁷³ This was an age-long custom and was in practice during this period.

Criminal cases were tried and punishments were awarded in accordance with the laws adopted in their Penal administration. High treason was punished with death. Though it was customary to show to the Brāhmana some amount of lenience as regards punishment, there are a number of references to the punishments inflicted on Brāhmanas. Punishments in criminal cases varied according to the nature and magnitude of the offences. Various types of inhuman and horrible punishments were inflicted on the criminals. Amputation of hands, feet, ears and nose, crushing the limbs of criminals in stone mills, burning the body in fire are some of the punishments mentioned in the literature of the period.¹⁷⁴ The Koravi record lists¹⁷⁵ a number of crimes and the punishments awarded for each of them. It states that 25 dramma should be imposed¹⁷⁶ as a fine for crimes like



the cutting of nose, beating, causing minor injuries, theft and even adultery. If a royal servant commits the offence, the punishment for him is removal from service, which thus cuts the very source of his livelihood.¹⁷⁷

A similar instance is noticed in the Pabhubarru grant of Śaktivarma¹⁷⁸ when the king removed a gramani who was found to be disloyal. By this, it is evident that at least some of the Chālukya families, like those of Mudigonda, imitated and implemented the legal procedure of the Chālukyas of Vēngī, through whose support they survived. If a person kills any one he should be punished with a fine of 120 dramma; ¹⁷⁹ if he hurts anybody, he should be punished with a fine of 60 dramma.¹⁸⁰ All these cases were tried in the village courts presided over by the village headman, who was nominated by the king. One point that deserves special attention in this connection is the case of adultery. In this record an adulterer is required to pay a fine of 25 dramma. But a contemporary record of a Vaidumba king, Bhuvana Triṇetra Śrī Madarigēya Mahārāja, found at Kalukada of the Vayalpedu Taluq, Chittoor district, gives¹⁸¹ the punishment in a different manner. It suggests either the imposition of death-penalty for both man and woman, if their guilt is proved; otherwise, the man was to pay a fine of 64 gadyān and the woman was to have her nose cut off. Anyhow in the



crime of adultery, women bore the brunt of punishment heavily. Certain details concerning crime and punishment are preserved in the Yasastilaka.¹⁸² Generally, the person who was found guilty of breach of trust was given three alternatives for his choice. He must swallow three bowls of cow-dung, or receive thirty-three blows to be dealt by powerful wrestlers, or forfeit his entire property. When he chooses the last alternative, all his wealth is confiscated; and he is smeared with clay teeming with worms, and made to wear garlands of potsherds and abandoned platters, paraded on the back of a donkey and expelled from the city.¹⁸³ Such cruelty, however was not in vogue in awarding punishments in civil cases. Default to clear a debt was punished. Śrīnātha, the Vidyādhikāri and court-poet of the Reddis, is known to have been punished¹⁸⁴ in various ways after the downfall of the Reddi kingdom of Koṇḍaviḍu, owing to his inability to pay to the royal treasury the stipulated tax of 700 ṭaṅkas. A number of similar punishments is referred to in Bukmāṇadhacharitra.¹⁸⁵ One Chālukya record states¹⁸⁶ that the king used to impose fines on all special offences.



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We find these measuring rods named either after the length of the rod measured in spans or after the proper names of the ruling monarchs or royal officials, or after their titles. In some areas, it is a custom to sketch a portion of that scale on a stone pillar in a temple for the guidance of future generations.
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CHAPTER - VIII

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

It is not easy to pinpoint the changes in society and economy during the period, because of the frequent changes in the regimes and in the areas of jurisdiction of the various minor dynasties. They weathered many political storms and suffered great calamities. We do not know to what extent changes in the political sphere exercised influence on social and cultural life. Moreover, the impact of neighbouring kingdoms on Āndhra should not be under-estimated. During this period, it is not unreasonable to state that a major part of Āndhra culture was influenced in general by the Southern provinces, particularly by Kārṇāṭaka. From Kavirājamārga it can be drawn that the culture of Kārṇāṭaka spread upto the river Gōdāvarī (Kāvēri inda Gōdāvarī Varagai).

The pattern of Hindu society is well known; its broad divisions were the four castes - Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras. In the course of social evolution, these castes got divided into a number of sects or sub-castes, each of which had its own distinctive character and status. As observed in the Vaiśya-puranam, each of these communities evolved its own rules of professional and social conduct. How far the prevailing economic conditions of that period made their impact on the various



professions in the society are not known. It is also not clear whether it was inevitable for the persons of a particular caste to accept the profession enjoined on their caste. Religion also played an important part in narrowing down caste-barriers. Jainism, Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism tried to bring certain kinds of equality among their followers; but they did little to modify the rigours of caste. In the light of the sources available, only a brief estimation could be made about the professions of these castes. Vīra Śaivism and Vīra Vaiṣṇavism made all their votaries equal on the social plane; but by their fanatic sectarianism created a climate of religious narrow-mindedness.

Brāhmaṇas:

Brāhmaṇas occupied the highest position in society. According to tradition, Brāhmaṇas alone had the expert knowledge and competence required to perform sacrifices and rituals. They continued to be the custodians of the Vēdas, the Śāstras and other branches of learning. It was not merely their birth, but their scholarship that gave them the supreme position in society. There are frequent references to the high scholarship of Brāhmaṇas in the records and literature of the period. It is evident that they were the only highly educated people in society; and naturally



people respected them. Adhyayana and Adhyāpana (learning and teaching) are the two-fold duties of the Brāhmaṇas. They were engaged in mastering the entire known literature on all subjects. They held all important offices in the State including those of ministers, revenue officials and military generals. They also officiated as priests in all domestic functions of a religious character and also in worship at the temples. Thus they held close connections with each group in the society. Though legal works like Viṇāyāśvarīyam of Ketana¹ lay down some concessions and privileges to Brāhmaṇas, we do not know how far they were in actual vogue in this period.

Prior to this period and even in the period of the Chālukyas of Vēmulavāda, other religions like Jainism made an attack on Brāhmaṇism, the religion in which the position of the Brāhmaṇas was supreme. With the outbreak of such non-Brāhmaṇical schools of religious thought, the old traditional status of the Brāhmaṇas in society was adversely effected. It is known that a small number of Brāhmaṇa families, either because of the influence of the changing circumstances or out of genuine devotion to such new faiths accepted and joined them leaving aside Brāhmaṇism. Bhīma, the father of poet Pampa, is stated² to have followed Jainism by leaving Brāhmaṇism. All the ancestors of his line were



Vēdic scholars and Sāmayājins. He was the first to desert the fold. Conversion to a new faith, in its early stages probably did not bring any change in the caste. Jinavallabha, the brother of Pampa, though a Jaina, states³ that he was a Kamme Brāhmaṇa. The term Brāhmaṇa indicates acceptance of the fourfold caste system; and it is a wonder how Jinavallabha, a Jaina, audaciously declared that he was a Brāhmaṇa. Nāgamayya, the father of Mallapa and Punnama, who encouraged poet Ponna is also described⁴ as a Jaina Brāhmaṇa. Thus we see that, in this period, Jainism could not prevent its members from describing themselves as of a particular caste. Gradually this tendency of clinging to caste disappeared with the emergence of new trends like Vīra Śaivism.

Regarding their approach to the Vēdic schools of thought, a majority of the Brahmanas seems to have accepted and followed Yajurveda. Though the followers of Rīgvēda and Sāmavēda were also known, their number was comparatively small. M. Somasekhara Sarma observes that the followers of Atharvanavēda were not found⁵ in the records of the Reddi period. The other periods in Āndhra make no exception. But in the Eḍaruaḷli re-issued grant,⁶ one Brāhmaṇa, by name Dāmōdara, is stated to be a Chaturvēdin, a scholar in the four Vēdas. Without scholarship in Atharvanavēda, that term 'Chaturvēdin' could not have been used; and hence



we may state that Atharvaveda was also studied by Brāhmaṇas, but only by a very small number. A similar mention of the term 'Chaturvēdin' is also found in a record (A.D.1238)⁷ from Dendulūru. In the copper-plate grants of this period a number of gōtras of the Brāhmaṇas were mentioned. Among them are the following:

Ātrēya	Kaundinya	Śaunaka
Bhāradvāja	Kausika	Śrīvatsa
Bhārgava	Lohita	Śūngabhāradvāja
Dēvarata	Maitrēya	Vadhūla
Gārgya	Maitravaruna	Vasīstha
Gautama	Meuna Bhārgava	Vishṇuwardhana
Harita	Parāśara	Viśvāmitra
Kāmakāyana	Purukutsa	Yaska
Kaṇva	Rathītara	Maudgalya
Kapi	Sālankāyana	Kutsīta
Kāśyapa	Śāndilya	Śaṭha

In addition to these gōtras, there are also other sub-divisions based on Rishi and Śākha.

As this is a period of huge migrations from place to place, another sub-division is noticed among Brāhmaṇas on the basis of their original habitation. Differences in political or religious approaches, natural calamities, or the favours



showered by the rulers in the new areas might have been the causes for these migrations. It is said that poet Pampa, a native of Vēṅgīnādu, went to settle at Vēmulaṇḍa.⁸

It is probably with a religious motive, as Jainism flourished better in Telangāṇa than in Vēṅgī. In case these migrations were on a large scale, the rulers provided accommodation to all those immigrants. A record of 9th Century at Ghantaśāla mentions⁹ the gift of dwellings made to 2,000 Brāhmaṇas. Bhujabala Siddirāja alias Rāchamallaḍeva is stated¹⁰ to have constructed 'Rāchamalla Chaturvēdi Maṅgala' in the area of Nāgapadōlu in Pākanādu, to accommodate a number of migrating Brāhmaṇa families. Similarly, in the time of Virachōḍa, the son of Kulōttunga I and Viceroy in Vēṅgī, the migration of a number of Brāhmaṇas of the Draviḍa country to the areas of Gōḍavarī delta is a well attested fact.¹¹ These mass migrations necessitated their forming into groups. This brought about another type of sub-division in the caste of the Brāhmaṇas, which was based on their earlier habitation. This was no new feature in Āndhra. We find these migrating groups with their crystallised sect-names joined the main stream of the Brāhmaṇa community by this time. A group of Brāhmaṇas hailing from a particular nādu or viśaya were named after that nādu or viśaya; for example - Velanāṭi Brāhmaṇas, Vēṅgīnāṭi Brāhmaṇas, Kammanāṭi Brāhmaṇas and Pākanāṭi Brāhmaṇas. Jinavallabha, the brother of Pampa describes



himself in his Kurkyāla record¹² as a Kamma Brāhmaṇa, which means a Brāhmaṇa born in the Kammanāṭi Brāhmaṇa community. This kind of subdivision was in existence at least from the time of the Chālukyas of Vēṅgi, for an inscription of Ammarāja II records¹³ the grant of an agrahāra to a Kamma Kulaja Brāhmaṇa, i.e., the Brāhmaṇa born in the Kammanāṭi Brāhmaṇa community. M. Somasekhara Sarma opined¹⁴ that the Brāhmaṇas of Kammanāṭu merged in the Brāhmaṇa community of Shatsahasrāveni or Ārvēlanāṭu, and of Karnāṭu or Karanināṭu.

Regarding surnames, we do not come across any such mention in the case of the Brāhmaṇas in the early part of this period. This does not mean the Brāhmaṇa living in Āndhra at that time had no surnames at all, but they did not give any importance to them in the earlier period. Until the 13th Century the records in Āndhra, either lithic or copper-plate, generally provide the names of the gōtras and the Vēda or Vēdas in which they were proficient and do not mention their surnames. In a record dated A.D.1252 from Śrīkūrmam,¹⁵ we find, for the first time, the names of a few Vaishṇava-Brāhmaṇas along with their surnames, viz., Kari Kūrmanātha Śarma, Mudra Kūrmanātha Śarma, Jampa Mañchana Śarma etc. But there are a few early instances of the usage of surnames from the eleventh century, as could be seen



in names like Pāvulūrī Mallana and Kottaruvu Kommana, Svāmi, Sōmayāji, Ārya, Śarma, dīkshita, Shadāṇḍa, Bhaṭṭa, dvivēdi, Trivēdi, Chaturvēdi, Paṇḍita, Ācharya, ghaṭaśāsi, bhaṭṭōpādhyāya, yajva etc. were the terms used at the end of the names of the Brāhmaṇas as frequently found in the records and literature of this period.

It is already said that it was not their birth that brought these Brāhmaṇas a supreme position in the then society. They were generally learned in the Vedic lore, Śāstras, Purāṇas and different branches of learning like Tarka, Nyāya, Mīmāṃsa, Vyākaraṇa, Jyōtiṣha and Gaṇita. The phrases, qualifying the donees that find mention in the copper-plate records bear testimony to the high standard of their learning and scholarship. Scholars like Viddana, who is credited to have adorned all the assemblies of scholars in the town of 'Vāgīśaratnākara' was respected and honoured by a number of rulers.¹⁶ Encountering no disturbance nor trouble from kings and their officers, these Brāhmaṇa scholars spent a peaceful life in their agrahāras by imparting knowledge to their pupils and spreading and maintaining the Vedic culture and learning. Kāśīkhaṇḍam and Bhīmēśvarapurāṇa¹⁷ describe the prosperous conditions of Brāhmaṇas in the agrahāras. Some members of the Brāhmaṇa community constructed temples also. Viddanadīkshita is stated to have installed



'Śiva jñānēśvara' at Bhīmavallabhapura¹⁸. The same scholar is stated to have regranted the lands given to him in the agrahāras of Puluparti and Uttarēśvara.¹⁹ This type of re-grants by Brāhmaṇas is also referred to in the Kavyā-lankārachūdāmaṇi.²⁰ Brahmadēyas, from which these Brāhmaṇas enjoyed revenue were generally exempted from all sorts of taxes. But this principle was not followed, in the 10th Century at least, in the case of bordering agrahāras. Sōmadēvasūri in his Nītiyākvāṇṛita lays down²¹ that when the king had to make a capital levy in order to tide over a crisis, he could take a portion of the property of Brāhmaṇas, observing the only precaution that money absolutely necessary for the performance of the sacrifices was left with them. Brāhmaṇas who followed other professions like trade and industry were not exempted from any tax.²² This itself shows that it was not birth but scholarship and profession that was respected.

To strengthen the validity of their claim on the granted agrahāras, the donees often declare that their's was Śāsanada-agrahāras. The possession of copper plate record governing the grant is its attestation. A reference to this is found in the Kurkyāla record of Jinavallabha. Pampa, his brother and the court poet of Arikēsari, states that his Dharmapura was the Śāsanada-agrahāra, but does not



specify whether that was recorded on a copper plate or not. Jinavallabha not only specifies its character but also mentions the place where it could be found. Admonishing the importunate questioners, who wanted to know whether Arikēsari actually gifted the village to Pampa through a copper-plate inscription and the latter accepted it, he directed them to go to Vṛishabhādrī, where they could see the inscription registering the gift engraved on a lofty rock on the summit of the hill. This anticipatory reply of Jinavallabha itself points to the necessity and importance of recording the matter on copper plates while granting agrahāras.

It had become the self-imposed duty of the kings of this period, to recover and regrant to Brāhmaṇas the old agrahāras, which had been formerly in their enjoyment, having been granted to them by kings of yore, but which were lost to them in the ravages of time. We have a number of evidences of the Brāhmaṇas who made claims about grants that were made to them by rulers whose names are preserved only in tradition and whose identity is not known. Repeatedly, in the various claims for the re-issue of the grants to the Brāhmaṇa donees, Mukkaṇṭi Kādvettī alias Trilōchana Pallava is mentioned as the donor king of their respective original grants, that were lost.²³ A similar custom



was followed in the Edarupalli re-issued grant²⁴ of Vishnuvardhana of the Jananāthapura Chālukya family also. A number of Brāhmanas of various gōtras made a claim for the re-issue of the grant of Edarupalli, as the original document which was given in the time of Mukkanti Kādvetti was damaged in the ravages of time. Presenting a claim for the re-issue of a document became necessary for them probably to inform the ruling authority that the family of the original Brāhmaṇa donee is still continuing to enjoy the land granted in perpetuity. There is reason to believe that, if those claimants did not do so, the government might annex their village also and draw regular revenue; or it could be granted for other similar purposes. One such event occurred in connection with the grant of Navakhandavāda, near Piṭhāpuram. It was originally granted²⁵ by Rājaraṇarēndra of Rājamaṇēdravara to Pāvulūri Mallana, a scholar in Gaṇitaśāstra, who lived in his court. For some generations, that village was under the enjoyment of that family. But after a period of roughly two centuries, Jayāmbika, a queen of Velanāṭi Prithvīśvara, gave it as a grant²⁶ to God Kuntī Mādhava of Piṭhāpuram. How a village previously granted to a Brāhmaṇa for a particular purpose was again offered to god Kuntī Mādhava by Jayāmbika, is an interesting point. It need not be considered as a mistake that took place in the royal archives. It must be the lack of legal claimants in the donee's



family which led to the confiscation of that village; but a grant made by a king would not be taken back in any circumstances; and so the village must have been offered to the temple.

While some Brāhmaṇas endeavoured to preserve and propogate the Vēdic culture, some others came forward to bear the burden of the State. This difference in the nature of duties undertaken necessarily brought a division in the Brāhmaṇa caste, which manifested itself markedly during this period. As observed by M. Somasekhara Sarma²⁷ a 'laukika sect' of Brāhmaṇas came into existence. Though officers called 'Niyōgis' or 'Naiyōgika Vallabhas', were employed in the royal service from 7th Century onwards,²⁸ it is not known whether a separate sect emerged until 11th and 12th Centuries. This emergence led to the formation of two strong sects, Vaidikis (those who follow Vaidika Vṛithi) and Niyōgis (those who follow the laukika vṛitti) among the Brāhmaṇas. It does not mean that a Niyōgi Brāhmaṇa was precluded from acquiring the traditional learning. In fact, a number of Amātyas were referred to, as learned in the Vēdas and Śāstras. Veṅga Sachiva, the minister of the Chālukya family of Nidadavōlu, is stated²⁹ to be a Chaturvēdin. Two inscriptions at Bāpaṭṭa belonging to the twelfth century refer³⁰ to a family of the Brahma-Kshatriyakula, i.e., the Brāhmaṇas



who abandoned the traditional occupation of their caste and took to the martial arts of Kshatriyas. An inscription from Simhachalam dated A.D.1393 also mentions³¹ this sub-caste. It is observed that during the middle Kākatīya period this section of Niyōgis gained greater influence in politics and higher social distinction; and in early post-Kākatīya period slowly crystallised into a separate sub-caste.³² Yielding to the temptations of power and wealth they left aside family customs and tradition and got prepared to marry ladies of non-Brāhmaṇa ruling communities, as evidenced by the Indulūri-Kākatīya alliances. Thus they emerged into a powerful political section and held positions of importance like durgādhipatis, dandanāyakas etc.

There appears to have been a class of Brāhmaṇas who adopted trade as their profession, though their number should have been very small. An epigraph from Śrīkūrmam dated A.D.1402³³ refers to one Rishidēśanāyaka of Kāśyapa^{gōtra} as a brother of one Kaḷiṅga Vyāpāri. Though Kāśyapa^{gōtra} is popular among the Vaiśyas also, this person is stated to belong to the family of Upādhyāyas, and hence to the Brāhmaṇa caste. A considerable number of Brāhmaṇas, mostly of the Vaiṣṇava persuasion, were employed as temple servants in various capacities. An inscription dated A.D.1102 at Vēlpūru (Guntur District) mentions³⁴ 'Dēvara Vadugulu', probably



Archaka Brāhmaṇas who devoted themselves to the services in the temple. Joint families were rare as is sometimes supposed; for some of the copper-plate grants which mention the specific shares of the cosharers of agrahāra villages, prove that in many cases fathers and sons were living separately.³⁵

Thus, in general, a majority of the Brāhmaṇas, by their conduct and devotion to learning and svadharma, commanded the respect of the remaining Hindu society. But instances are not wanting of degeneracy, of loose character and morals of some of the Brāhmaṇas.³⁶

Kshatriyas:

In the Hindu social system, Kshatriyas occupied the second place, though they were the ruling class. In the Telugu-speaking areas this caste is known as 'Rājas' whereas they were referred to as 'arasar' in the areas under Kannada influence. All these Chālukya families claim to be Kshatriyas of Mānavyasapūtra in their records and in the literature of their times. They invariably occupied the military and administrative professions, and we do not come across Kshatriyas who took to any profession other than fighting and ruling. They contracted matrimonial alliances with the Rāshtrakūṭas, Gaṅgas, Haihayas and Kākatīyas, who were the ruling families in Āndhra. Because of this, it is believed



that all these Chālukya families belonged to the caste of Kshatriyas. But contrary to this supposition, the records³⁷ of the Chālukyas of Elamañchili state that they were 'Chaturthakulānvayas', i.e., Śūdras. After they acquired power, their status in the social hierarchy went up and they came to be recognised as Kshatriyas; and the rulers who were Kshatriyas by birth entered into marriage alliances with them.

A number of records³⁸ of these families, with no exception, declare that they were the members of the Lunar race. The Āndhra Mahā Bhārata³⁹ and the Kāvya-lankā-rachūdāmanī⁴⁰ also admit it as a fact. But quite contrary to all these declarations, the Parabhani plates⁴¹ and Uttarēśvara grant⁴² state that these families were Chālukyas of solar descent. But scholars have already pointed out that those were mistakes.⁴³ All these Chālukya families might have belonged to the same Mānavyasa gōtra of the Lunar race.

In the present state of our knowledge, we are not sure that all these families belonged to the Kshatriya caste. Though there are differences of opinion, the Chālukya line of Vēṅgī, from which some of these families traced their descent, could confirm their Kshatriya status. The Chālukya family of Vēmula-vāḍa and Mudigaṇḍa can be accepted undoubtedly



as Kshatriyas because of their contemporaneity with the Eastern Chālukyas. The Chālukyas of Jananāthapura claimed⁴⁴ that Bēta-Vijayāditya, the 17th of Chālukya line of Vēṅgī was their founder; and hence they can also be accepted as Kshatriyas. But it is doubtful that the Chālukya families located at Elamañchili, Nidadavōlu, Śrīkūrmam, Kālahasti and other places in Āndhra are Kshatriyas. They may or may not have belonged to the Kshatriya caste. Kālahasti Chiefs described themselves as Yādavas.⁴⁵ The remaining families emerged as a political power only in the 12th and 13th centuries and connected⁴⁶ themselves with the Chālukyas of Vēṅgī. Their way of tracing descent seems to be evasive and dubious; and there is a time-gap between the emergence of these families and the disappearance of the Vēṅgī family. This uncertainty in the narration of their descent leads to doubt about their Kshatriya origin; and hence they need not necessarily be considered as Kshatriyas, though they claimed the entire prasaṣṭi of the Chālukyas of Vēṅgī. In the 12th and 13th Centuries a number of ruling families traced descent from the Chālukyas of Vēṅgī and claimed lunar descent.

Vaiśyas:

Vaiśyas were given the third place in the traditional social set-up. In the records of this period they are also



referred to as Śrēshṭhis,⁴⁷ Kōmatīs⁴⁸ and Śettīs.⁴⁹

A. Vaidehi Krishna Moorthy states⁵⁰ that the term 'Kōmatī' seems to have been first used in the Nītisāstramuktāvalī written by Bhadrabhūpāla who lived in the 13th Century. But, even in the records of the 11th Century, the usage of that word is found.⁵¹ There is no satisfactory explanation as to how the term 'Kōmatī' originated. But the Vaiśyapurāṇam, otherwise known as Kaṇvakāpurāṇam, states⁵² that the Vaiśyas came down to the earth from the Holy Cow through its ears; they are termed as Gōmathulu. This derivation might be a fabrication of a later period; for, nowhere do we come across the term Gōmathulu for Kōmatī in the records.

Trade was the main profession of this community. They are known to have been engaged in a large scale trade inside as well as outside the country. Trade was almost their monopoly; and possession of wealth elevated them to the position of bankers and treasurers attached to the royal courts.⁵³ Some of them were appointed Mahāsēnāpatīs and Mahāpātrās.⁵⁴ The reference to 'Navaśrēshṭhis' like Chandra Śrēshṭī as witnesses to the royal grant in the Vēmulavāda record of Arikēsari II points to the high status of the Vaiśyas in the kingdom.⁵⁵ Some merchants seems to have been invested with the insignia of office, like horse, an umbrella, Alavanṭuka, Kañche, Kīlavatta⁵⁶ etc. Occasionally they were



granted agraḥāras also.⁵⁷ This does not mean that all Vaiśya families were in such a prosperous condition. An inscription dated A.D.1154 described⁵⁸ a family of Kōṃaṭis as servants, whose duty was to supervise the lamp-gift which was made to a temple.

There are also references to merchant caravans engaged in trade generally outside the area of their native lands.⁵⁹ These caravans are said to have been accompanied by a band of armed men for protection against the highway robbers.⁶⁰

The Vaiśyas, who were teeming with riches, glorified themselves by claiming, like the Brāhmaṇa association with many more gōtras derived from various sages. In Haravilasan, a Telugu work of the 14th Century by Śrīnāḍha, it is said that the Vaiśya caste consisted of one thousand gōtras.⁶¹ In the Vaiśyapurāṇam, it is said⁶² that they belonged to 714 gōtras among which 200 gōtras belonged to Bhārgava-rishi-gaṇa, 252 to Śāṇḍilya-rishi-gaṇa, 66 to Prabhāta-rishi-gaṇa and the remaining 196 to Kāśyapa-rishi-gaṇa. The following is the list of the 196 gōtras belonging to the Kāśyapa-rishi-gaṇa.⁶³

1. Prabhāta
3. Māṇḍavya

2. Rasmivānta
4. Madana



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| 5. Āṅgīrasa | 6. Ākhaṇḍa la |
| 7. Idimmīrala | 8. Ghōṭaka |
| 9. Tundila | 10. Tuhināhāra |
| 11. Charaṇa | 12. Vyūha |
| 13. Vatsaka | 14. Gaṇēśvara |
| 15. Kaṇva | 16. Kandarpa |
| 17. Charaṇatraya | 18. Chāṇḍika |
| 19. Pounḍrika | 20. Dēvala |
| 21. Dhārmika | 22. Maitrēya |
| 23. Mañjula | 24. Sanaka |
| 25. Sanaṇḍana | 26. Nārada |
| 27. Ūrmi | 28. Udaṇka |
| 29. Maru | 30. Sanjñika |
| 31. Kāśyapa | 32. Kalmāśhapāda |
| 33. Dattātrēya | 34. Dhātṛuka |
| 35. Chyavana | 36. Jahnu |
| 37. Muktiprada | 38. Niratama |
| 39. Maudgalya | 40. Pavatimāshya |
| 41. Gaupavana | 42. Kauśikāyana |
| 43. Gautamāyana | 44. Saitava |
| 45. Gergvāyana | 46. Pārāsarya |
| 47. Yajñavalka | 48. Yājaka |
| 49. Aghuhārīsa | 50. Paundraka |
| 51. Purukutsa | 52. Pushpadanta |



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|--------------------|-------------------|
| 53. Chitraka | 54. Chitra |
| 55. Chitragupta | 56. Vāmana |
| 57. Vāmadēva | 58. Yāyuvya |
| 59. Chatuskarṇa | 60. Charamatatva |
| 61. Chahitavrata | 62. Indradyumnaśa |
| 63. Jālāyana | 64. Udvārakāyana |
| 65. Mādhyandina | 66. Saukarāyana |
| 67. Kāshāyana | 68. Bāshkalāyana |
| 69. Sayakāyana | 70. Kausikāyana |
| 71. Pārāsaryasa | 72. Pāvanatraya |
| 73. Haritōdvaha | 74. Kambuḡrīvasa |
| 75. Gōvrata | 76. Uttamākhyā |
| 77. Pārada | 78. Palvala |
| 79. Sakthuprastha | 80. Bhīṣhaṇākhyā |
| 81. Vijayavarṇa | 82. Nāchikēta |
| 83. Pulastya | 84. Sūnṛuta |
| 85. Gautama | 86. Bhārgava |
| 87. Jaimini | 88. Mataṅga |
| 89. Ghṛita Kausika | 90. Āsurāyana |
| 91. Āyāśka | 92. St hrivāṇi |
| 93. Prīthamānasa | 94. Paramatvaka |
| 95. Viśvāmitra | 96. Sutīksha |
| 97. Kanakapālaka | 98. Sanatsujāta |
| 99. Samvartaka | 100. Tumbura |
| 101. Pēśala | 102. Varuṇa |



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|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| 103. Krutsna | 104. Kapila |
| 105. Sāndīpēna | 106. Āpastamba |
| 107. Mandapāla | 108. Bhāradvāja |
| 109. Brīhadāsya | 110. Rīśya Śṛuṅga |
| 111. Vālakhilya | 112. Kūrma |
| 113. Ājandhana | 114. Āpa jandhanī |
| 115. Āsurī | 116. Māndīsa |
| 117. Kaisōrya | 118. Loupya |
| 119. Mudgala | 120. Mārkaṇḍeya |
| 121. Mañjuvrata | 122. Āpṛuta |
| 123. Sāndilya | 124. Śamīra |
| 125. Śrīdhara | 126. Pavana |
| 127. Pramada | 128. Agastya |
| 129. Ribhya | 130. Harivaktra |
| 131. Vēdanidhī | 132. Pavitra pāṇī |
| 133. Kaundinya | 134. Bhṛigu |
| 135. Akhayākshī | 136. Bōdhāyana |
| 137. Pingala | 138. Satyavrata |
| 139. Mahāsēna | 140. Kautsa |
| 141. Vāmukāyana | 142. Sthūlaśīrsha |
| 143. Kṛishṇadvai pāyana | 144. Kumārahāri |
| 145. Kumāra | 146. Vidarbha Kaundinya |
| 147. Vidarbha | 148. Vatsapāla |
| 149. Babhru | 150. Patha |
| 151. Sauhāra | 152. Mādhava |



- | | |
|------------------|--------------------|
| 153. Muchikunda | 154. Śarabha |
| 155. Dhaumya | 156. Turyavrota |
| 157. Mausala | 158. Haya grīva |
| 159. Śakti | 160. Pāvana |
| 161. Vishṇu | 162. Vardhana |
| 163. Jāthavēdasa | 164. Śuka |
| 165. Gārgyasa | 166. Kṛishṇa |
| 167. Āyāsyā | 168. Ābhūta |
| 169. Āngīrasa | 170. Tvasta |
| 171. Viśvarūpa | 172. Āsvi |
| 173. Dadhīchi | 174. Atharvana |
| 175. Mrutyu | 176. Pradhivaṁsana |
| 177. Marīchi | 178. Bṛihaspati |
| 179. Vaśista | 180. Puṇḍarīka |
| 181. Trijata | 182. Kañchana |
| 183. Śaunaka | 184. Ekarishi |
| 185. Viprachitta | 186. Vṛishti |
| 187. Kalāśha | 188. Svayambhū |
| 189. Sanāru | 190. Paramēshti |
| 191. Sanātana | 192. Āśvilāyana |
| 193. Vishvaksēna | 194. Sutīkshana |
| 195. Jābāli | 196. Śarjṇarava |

In addition to these, the following are the some more oṭtras noticed from inscriptions and mentioned



in the Vaiśyaourāṇam.

Charitavrata	Nābhīlamu
Muni Kulamu	Vekrālamu
Vakraśistamu	Vraṅgamamu
Mūlakulam	Buddhi Kulamu
Yalamāñchi Kulamu	Manyūkula
Pāla	Anupa Kula
Inchukula	Tulaśista
Seniśetti	Balliśetti
Santalā	Vrkaśista
Śrīraṅgakula	Śrīlakula
Ghanamukha	Chōgōḷa
Cherukōḷa	Phanaka Kula
Pattana Kula	Dāsista
Daiviśista	Midhunakula
Maitrēya Kula	Dedki
Nāguṇḍayāri	Puchchakōḷa
Yerraśetti	Boḍukula
Viviriśista	Appanāṅgakula
Veṅkula	

Vaiśyas, like the Brāhmaṇas, were also subdivided, on the basis of the locality from which they hailed originally. There were references to Kamma Kōmaṭis, i.e., the Vaiśyas that hailed from Kammanāḍu, in the records



of the 12th and 13th Centuries.⁶⁴ An inscription from Drākshārāma dated A.D.1068 refers to Pāpaya, son of Mēdiyaśētti, as a Kamma Kōmati of Viśakhapatnam.⁶⁵ It seems that the Vaiśya families lived in specific areas in the towns.⁶⁶ The Vaiśyapurāṇam gives us an account of the communal history of the Vaiśyas. According to it,⁶⁷ there are eighteen towns that constituted the original home of the Vaiśyas of all the 714 gōtras. The names of those towns and the respective families which resided in them are given hereunder:

1. Elāpura	Manumānabha-vamśa
	Anupāla-vamśa
	Anupakula-vamśa
	Kaṅka-vamśa
	Kamma-vamśa
2. Viranārāyaṇa Paṭṭana	Āntaka-vamśa
	Āntuka-vamśa
	Kavāṭa-vamśa
	Kākōla-vamśa
	Gō-vamśa
3. Viśālanagara or Viśākhanaagara	Gōśīla-vamśa
	Pungaśīla-vamśa
	Paṅka-vamśa
4. Śivapura	Gōpa-vamśa
	Peddiśīṣṭa-vamśa
	Pēriśīṣṭa-vamśa



5. Āchantanagara	Chini-vamśa Śiri-vamśa Śirīsha-vamśa Nandi-vamśa Sunandi-vamśa Kāmīlya-vamśa
6. Dhāṇḍapura	Yikshvāku-vamśa Kurantaka-vamśa
7. Dharmapura	Gaṇapati-vamśa Hari-vamśa Chandra-vamśa Arka-vamśa Kāla-vamśa Agni-vamśa Bhadra-vamśa Mandra-vamśa
8. Pālakundapura	Sūśāṇḍa-vamśa Karāṇasamay-vamśa Pāru-vamśa, Dardu-vamśa Sābara-vamśa, Maṇigrīva-vamśa
9. Jaṇannādhapura	Baṇḍīśiṣṭa-vamśa Gāya Bhīma-vamśa
10. Kaṇḍināpattana	Gaṇḍhīśīla-vamśa Tumbabandhuka-vamśa
11. Pāñchālanagara	Maru-vamśa Prōviśiṣṭu-vamśa Chandra-vamśa



12. Bhīmepattana	Paṇḍasīla-vaṃśa Melayāla-vaṃśa
13. Trigunapattana	Kōṇana-vaṃśa Kaṭhōra-vaṃśa Śānta-vaṃśa Dāma-vaṃśa Dardura-vaṃśa Prithvī-vaṃśa Vīstu-vaṃśa Kraṇu-vaṃśa
14. Gaṇṭasālapura	Vinikula-vaṃśa Māsanta-kula Haya-grīva-vaṃśa Maṇi-grīva-vaṃśa Śaṅkha-grīva-vaṃśa
15. Kāmapura	Vēṇa-kula Maṇikunṭa-vaṃśa
16. Pīṭhikāpura	Sānaka-vaṃśa Kēśa-vaṃśa Śuṅga-vaṃśa
17. Janadapura or Ghaṇasāpura	Chirubilla-vaṃśa Budura-vaṃśa Yanasa-vaṃśa Drēṇa-vaṃśa Śūla-vaṃśa
18. Penugonda Pattana	Udvāha-vaṃśa



All these Vaiśyas seem to have formed themselves into a corporate community with their principal seat at Penugonda. Each group in every town had an assembly, described as Nakaram. Probably the Nakaram of Penugonda looked after the general interests of the entire community of the Vaiśyas. Critical issues were settled at a meeting of the assembly comprising the heads of all the Nakarams.

It seems that the Vaiśyas of the 714 gōtras lived together originally at one place. But the episode of Vāsavikanya and the Chālukya king Vishnuvardhana, brought a cleavage among them. When Vishnuvardhana requested the Vaiśyas to give Vāsavi in marriage to him, some of them were in favour of the proposal while others utterly rejected it.⁶⁸ In their view, to agree to marry the girl to a Kshatriya would be a sacrilege and a violation of the caste rules of 'mēnarikam' in the Vaiśya community.⁶⁹ But the king insisted on marrying the girl. Some of the Vaiśyas could not reconcile themselves to this development; and on the advice of their priest, Bhāskarāchārya, they decided to lay down their lives to vindicate their honour. The heads of families of 100 gōtras were among them. But the other families of 612 gōtras who did not agree with them decided to leave their kinsmen and live separately in other parts of the country. Thenceforward, the Vaiśyas of the



102 gōtras, whose elders immolated themselves in fire along with Vāsavi, came to be regarded as belonging to the pure stock of the Vaiśyas. Even now, in the Āndhra country, Vaiśyas of these 102 gōtras are considered to be the pure Vaiśyas; and even now their tutelary deity is Vāsavikanya of Penugonda. There is also the independent evidence of the epigraphs beginning from the 12th Century A.D. describing some merchants⁷⁰ as 'Lords of Penugonda' celebrating the importance of Penugonda. Ghantasāla, which is known from records⁷¹ as a trading emporium of great importance in the 11th and 12th Centuries, is mentioned as one of the 18 towns of the merchants mentioned in this Vaiśyapurāṇa. Similar evidence is noticed from the records of Viśakhapatnam and Janā^{mā}thapura which find place in the list of above 18 towns.⁷² K. Sundaram observes that the intense contact between these places points to the harmonious communal life of the 18 Vaiśya towns as depicted in the Purāṇa.⁷³

Though the original list mentions 18 towns, some portions of the Purāṇa, mention⁷⁴ the names of towns which extend the list to 20. These additional names are probably interpolations or additions of a later period. Moreover in the Purāṇa, the names of the same towns are referred to by other names in another context; Viśākhanagara⁷⁵ is



referred to as Viśālanagara,⁷⁶ and Janadapura⁷⁷ is mentioned as Ghanasārapura.⁷⁸ In the above list, towns like Viśākha, Āchanta, Dhanada, Ghanṭasāla, Pīṭhikāpura and Penugonda could be identified with the present Viśākhapatnam, Āchanta, Chandavōlu, Ghanṭasāla, Pīṭhāpuram and Penugonda. Places like Dharma, Pāñchāla, Triguna, Vīranārāyaṇa and others are not yet identified.

An inscription of the 16th Century from Undavalli in the Guntur District gives⁷⁹ interesting information about the 'Lords of Penugonda' who had some connection with this Purāṇa. It states that they erected a temple to god Bhāskarēśvara at Undavalli, and made arrangements for the daily worship and services to the god. It is plausible that these Vaiśyas installed that deity in the name of the guru of their community who is known from the Purāṇa.

Though the historicity of the Vaiśyapurāṇa is not beyond doubt, it is the most important and unique source of information regarding the social life of the Vaiśyas in Āndhra. The Vaiśyas are generally the masters of trade and commerce, of the art of purchase and sale.⁸⁰ Skill in management of business, adherence to Dharma, protection of cows, expertise in examining the quality of all the commodities and even diamonds, are stated to be the chief characteristics of the Vaiśyas.⁸¹ Their talent in examining



the quality and value of gems and diamonds is attested to by epigraphical evidence also. A record of the 15th Century refers to some Vaiśyas who were experts in the examination of the nine gems.⁸² They were also bankers.⁸³ Enriched by their prosperous business transactions, some of them claimed superiority over the Kshatriyas.⁸⁴ They preferred upholding of 'Kuladharmā' to submitting to the royal ordinance. In protecting their 'Kuladharmā', they even ventured to sacrifice their lives. Though they respected Brāhmaṇas and offered them grants, it seems the Vaiśyas, as a community were denied rights to perform Vēdic rituals.⁸⁵ Hence they were against the Vēdic rituals like Āśvamēdha, Gōmēdha, Jyēṣṭabhāga, Palalaśrāddha etc. They discountenanced social reforms like widow marriage and intercaste marriage.⁸⁶ They did not desire to follow Vēdic mantras.⁸⁷ Instead of Vēda Vidhi they wished to follow purāṇoktavidhi.⁸⁸ Even though the economic position of the Vaiśyas elevated them to the rank of the Brāhmaṇas and Kshatriyas, the then social set-up did not give them such a status.

Their non-vēdic ideology by no means made them hate the Brāhmaṇas. They offered grants to the Brāhmaṇas.⁸⁹ In the Vaiśyapurāṇam the various rates of amounts which the Vaiśyas had to offer to their Purōhitas on various occasions



are stated.⁹⁰ It states that all the Vaiśyas were to honour the purōhitas by offering 8 Varahās on his annual visit, 12 varahās on the occasion of marriages, 6 varahās on the occasion of Simanta, 3 varahās on the occasion of garbhādhāra, 6 varahās at the time of Pumsyana respectively. On the occasion of the birth of a boy, 3 mādas were to be given to the purōhita, and if the child happened to be a girl, the amount was reduced to 1½ mādas.⁹² Moreover, at the time of partition of property among brothers, and in the transaction of purchase and sales, dharmāmsa, a small portion of the profit was also offered to the purōhita.⁹³ Similar practices are common even now in the community of the Vaiśyas.

Donations or charities by the ladies of the merchant community are noticed in the records of this period. Mummranna, a Vaiśya lady is stated⁹⁴ to have constructed a temple, tank, chalipandiri etc. at Vipparla.

The various donations made by the Vaiśyas are an index to the prosperous condition of the trade. Before constructing any temple or issuing any grant to the temples, it was a custom for them to obtain permission from the guild in which the donor Vaisya was a member. A record from Madutūru in the Yellamanchili taluq dated A.D.1197 states⁹⁵ that two Vaiśyas obtained the permission of a guild of merchant:



to construct a temple by name Chōlēsvaradēva. An inscription dated A.D.1148 from Gaṅgapuram registers a gift by Kēsavaśeṭṭi of one hāga for the loin cloth, with the approval of the merchant community.⁹⁶ In the same place and in the same year, another record registers⁹⁷ the offering of income derived from tolls to the god by the five hundred representatives of the Nānādēśi trading community. Since a number of places stated in the Vaiśvapuranam are situated in proximity to one another, and since there are instances of merchants of one place visiting another place, it is reasonable to suppose that the communal organization visualised in the Vaiśvapuranam might have survived to bind these Vaiśyas into a compact body. While a majority of them were in trading activity, some served the needs of the kings.⁹⁸

K. Bhavayya Chowdari states⁹⁹ that two hundred families of Vaiśyas have joined the families of Kammās, a sub-caste of the śūdras, according to the Vaiśvapuranam. But in the entire Vaiśvapuranam such a reference is not to be found.

Basing on some passages from the Telugu work Nayanātha-charitra written by Geurana, M. Somasekhara Sarma thought¹⁰⁰ that the Vaiśyas had separate code terms of their own for use in conversation while dealing with business matters which are unintelligible to others.



Śūdras:

All people who do not belong to the above three castes come under the category of the Śūdras, the Chaturdh-ānvayas. They represent the great mass of the people who formed themselves into several sub-castes. The factors that gave rise to these divisions are profession, trade and also regional variations. Sub-castes like Kamma and Telaga had their origin in the territorial divisions of the country whereas communities like Chākali, Maṅgali, Kamsāli, Kammari, Kummari, Sāli and Golla were formed on the basis of their profession. No detailed information is available in regard to their income, their standard of living and their way of life.

The literature and inscriptions of this period refer to a majority of these sub-castes. In general, their occupations were agricultural labour and military services.¹⁰¹ It was in fact the Śūdras that formed the great recruiting ground for soldiers to the country. Similarly, a great majority of the members of these families were employed in agriculture and its allied works. Temples also provided appointments to this caste at least in a limited number. Some others were engaged in handicrafts.

Some of the members of the fourth caste distinguished themselves by their bravery and skill in warfare, became



reputed generals and officers of the State. When opportunity came, they established kingdoms of their own. Kakatiyas, Padmanāyaka Velamas or Rēcherla chiefs, Koppula chiefs, Reddis, etc. were some of them. After they became rulers, they could contract marriage alliances with the ruling families like the Gajapatis of Kalinga, the Chālukyas of Nidadavōlu and the Rāyas of Vijayanagara. They were on par with the upper castes and gave their daughters in marriage to Brāhmanas also (which is evidenced by the Indulūri-Kakatiya alliances).

M. Somasekhara Sarma notices¹⁰² a great change in attitude regarding the enforcement of civil law among the Śūdras of this period. In the 8th and 9th Centuries, the right to make a gift of land either to the temple or to a Brāhmaṇa was vested only in the ruling authority according to the Dharma Śāstras. In the period of Śūdra political ascendancy, any one and every one, who desired to make such a gift, did so even without the formal sanction of the king. Similarly, until then, Śūdra communities were not allowed to study Sanskrit¹⁰³ literature. This period witnessed Śūdras taking to education. Some of the Reddi kings wrote Sanskrit Kāvya and Nāṭakas. This was indeed a great change. This attests to the growing desire and zeal for rights and privileges among the Śūdra community



which were suppressed until then. While this urge would indicate social mobility, it became restricted to ruling families. They imitated the chiefs and potentates and assumed different titles like them. Every important community of the Medieval Āndhra, the Viśvakarmas, the Telikis etc. had prāsastis recorded in their inscriptions. Each of these communities busied itself with inventing a mythical origin of its own, going even to the extent of deriving it from the Celestial Beings. The purpose was, perhaps, to outdo the Brāhmanas in this respect. The Brāhmanas traced their origin from sages only, who are mortals. By tracing their origin to celestial potentates, these communities contended for a superior status and held claims to the privileges that were previously enjoyed by the upper castes like the Brāhmanas. It would seem that every community associated itself with a particular place which it considered to be its original home; and called itself as the Lord of that particular town. This practice became a 'jātidharma' or 'a communal bond'. All this is nothing but an effort to enhance its status. Kavirājamārca of the 9th Century states¹⁰⁴ that Kannadigas had their impact upto Gōdavarī in Āndhra; and hence there is no wonder when the same features occur in the prāsastis of the Śūdra sub-castes in Medieval Karnāṭaka also.¹⁰⁵ This movement, inspite of its drawbacks, made the common people realise their power and infused hope and self-confidence in them.



Farmers, Vesyas, Telukalis, pot-makers, goldsmiths, blacksmiths, Kañcharis, barbers, washermen, Mēdari, and Chandālas are the other communities referred to in the Edarupalli re-issued grant.¹⁰⁶

Kaṁsālis, otherwise known as Viśvakarmas, are a sub-caste among Śūdras. But they claimed a status higher than that of the Śūdras. As known from an inscription dated A.D.1129 from Mēcherla,¹⁰⁷ this caste traced its descent from Viśvakarma, son of Brahma. In this community, there were workers in metals including gold and silver, architects and sculptors. They were the engravers of the records on copper-plate and stone. We generally find the names of the Ācharis, who engraved those records, at the end of the inscriptions. One record mentions Kañcharavāḍa, which suggests the residence of all such professionals in a particular locality.¹⁰⁸ An inscription from Pañchadhārāla refers to them as Pāñchālulu.¹⁰⁹ K. Sundaram observes that the society of Medieval Āndhra created much work for this community.¹¹⁰ Some temples of the period maintained permanently the services of these smiths.¹¹¹ In some of the records they styled themselves as 'ṛishis' i.e. saints.¹¹² A sub-group among them, Kammakula Viśvakarmas, are known from records.¹¹³

One interesting feature of the society of this period



is the coordination between various communities in the Śūdra caste. This does not mean that there were no caste disputes; but it was free from the polarization of the society into a dichotomous grouping. K. Sundaram is correct when he noticed this feature in Medieval Āndhra, which is not found in contemporary Tāmilnāḍ and Kārṇāṭaka.¹¹⁴ Fights for rights and privileges between the communities of lower strata i.e. like Cultivators and Pāñchālulu are noticed in the records of both those states, while none of them is known in Medieval Āndhra.¹¹⁵ Moreover the coordination between cultivators and Pāñchālulu is evident from a record at Pāñchadhārāla, which mentions their joint properties.¹¹⁶

Another community that is frequently referred to in the records of the period is the Bōya community.¹¹⁷ Some members of the community were the heads of some provinces.¹¹⁸ In the records of the later period a number of them are referred to as having been attached to temples as custodians of the cattle gifted to the temple.¹¹⁹ Following a similar profession there is another sub-caste, known from the records of the period, with various names like golla, khilāri, kōnari etc.¹²⁰

Another sub-caste among the Śūdras that aspired for high status was the Telikis. This was the community of



oil-mongers. Like the Viśvakarmas, these Telikis claimed their descent from Brahma through his son Manu. Like the Vaiśyas, they claimed to have belonged to 'sahasrasaṅkhyānvaya-nōtras'. It seems they constituted themselves into a guild known as Telikivēvuru, or Telki-1000 with their headquarters at Bezwada.¹²¹ To enhance their glory Manuvamsapurāṇa, a work of the later date by Pōchirāju Vīranna, regards them as Kshatriyas, who later took to oil-pressing because of the curse of the sage Viśvaṃbhara.¹²² These Telikis are stated to be the hereditary servants of the Chālukyas, engaged in providing guard to their kings from the beginning of their rule. It is for these meritorious services, as mentioned in the Tēki plates of A.D.1084, that they were rewarded with privileges which were designed to assure for them a certain favoured position in the society of the times.¹²³ As a guild, the Teliki Vēvuru exercised authority on its members, as is noticed from a record dated A.D.1113 from Śrīkūrmam. It states that the Teliki Vēvuru exempted an oil-mill from a tax named 'Ari' for the maintenance of a perpetual lamp in the temple of Kūrmēśvara.¹²⁴ Manuvamsapurāṇa, mentions a dharmaśāstrana which mentions the grant of some villages like Bezwada, Pedavēgi, Jananātha and Taḍikalapūḍi to Telikis.¹²⁵ One point of interest is that these villages at one time or other were in the authority of these Chālukya families.



Frequent reference to oil-mills as grants to temples in the areas of Telangāna suggests the flourishing of oil pressing industry in the areas of Vēmūlavāda.¹²⁶ Baddega of the Vēmūlavāda family is stated to have bathed all his elephants in five hundred tanks filled with oil at Bodhan.¹²⁷ This illustrates the magnitudes of production of oil-pressing industry. Guild organisations like Nāyakas,¹²⁸ Reddis,¹²⁹ Sālevāru,¹³⁰ and Mahājanulu¹³¹ are also referred to in the records of the period. These seem to be the well-established, closely-knit, country-wide organisations that controlled the social and economic life of those communities.

Vēśyas or Sānulu are the community of dancing girls, who were the custodians of the arts of music and dance.

In some records they are mentioned as 'Marāti-sānulu'.¹³²

The Kāvvalankārachūdāmaṇi and the Kumārasambhavam refer to them as Velayāllu, Jarakāminulu, Lañjalu, Vārāṅganalu and Kalāvantulu. By their accomplishments in the fine arts, they attracted wealthy people and thus made their living.

In spite of their talents, they were not honoured by the learned. Pāṅkuriki Somanātha in his Panditarādhya-charitra uses all sorts of abusive epithets in describing them¹³³ and condemns their practices in no uncertain terms. A similar attitude is reflected in Kumāra Sambhavam.¹³⁴



Kāvvalankārachūdāmaṇi¹³⁵ and Vaiśya-purāṇam.¹³⁶ The details of their profession are known from Kṛidābhirāmaṇam¹³⁷ and from the literature of Śrīnātha.¹³⁸ In spite of all the adverse criticism, it was not deemed dishonourable or immoral to have in those days a vēśya as one's mistress, besides lawful wives.¹³⁹ Such courtesans exercised much influence, depending upon the status of their patrons. A majority of these girls were attached to the temples as dēvadāsīs or as dancers in the royal court. Some of them seem to have been appointed as spies also. It is said that Amoghavarsha I infiltrated thousands of courtseans in the courts of the hostile kings to worm out their secrets.¹⁴⁰ Whatever their position may be, generally these girls remained unmarried and carried on with the oldest profession of the world. Kṛidābhirāmaṇam and other works of Telugu literature describe, at length, the romantic nature of these Vēśyas. They were the cream of Śrīngārarasa; and a major portion of literature comprised description of them. Records also describe them in very high terms like Śrīngāra Kallōlinī, Sakalārdha Kalpalatikā etc.¹⁴¹ "Vṛittikartya Sānis" are referred to in the records at places like Juttiga.¹⁴² The Kāvvalankārachūdāmaṇi refers to the addiction of the Vēśyas to drink.¹⁴³

Though this community of Vēśyas is stated to be of



Śūdra caste, it seems, from a record from Simhāchalam,¹⁴⁴ that this profession was open to the women of any caste. There are instances where even the women of good families were forced into it by tyrannical social customs. A record from Śrīkūrmam dated A.D.1250 states¹⁴⁵ that 30 daughters of the Kaṭiṅga Maṇḍalanāyakas were gifted to the temple of Śrīkūrmam. Similarly, the daughters of the rulers by their concubines appear to have been given over to temples. A record from Pañchadhārāla¹⁴⁶ states that the daughters of the king Nṛsiṃhadēva of the Chālukya family of Elamañchili, by his 'bhōgastri' Virakka, were in the temple service as dēvadāsīs.

Grants to Vēśyas from kings and noblemen are also evident. In the Attili grant of Chālukya Bhīma I, a contemporary of the early rulers of Mudigonda, a Vēśya by name Challava, who was a 'samasta gāndharva vidyā vēdinī', was granted a land and a garden.¹⁴⁷

We come across a group of Vēśyas known as 'Sāni Munnūru' who are attached to the temples.¹⁴⁸ Probably they were a guild of Sānis drawn from 300 families. Along with Sthānādhipatis and Nibandhakāras, these Vēśyas of 'Sāni Munnūru' were enjoined to supervise the execution of the grants in temples like Vāsuki Ravi Sōmēśvara of Juttiḡa.¹⁴⁹



'Sānula Samayamu' or the guild of Vēśyas is referred to in two records dated A.D. 1427 and A.D. 1441 from Sindhachalam. These Vēśyas lived in separate localities in towns as known from references of 'Vēśyavāṭikas' found in the Kṛidābhīrāmam and Kumārasambhavam. A record dated A.D. 1163 also refers to Sānivāḍa, the locality inhabited by Vēśyas.¹⁵¹

Chandālas:

Besides these traditional four castes, there was another caste of the Chandālas. They formed an important section of the population. Though they were kept out of the Hindu society, it is estimated that they were indispensable for its economic well-being and was the main stay of the agrarian labour.¹⁵² They were employed as Talāries or Watchmen of the villages and they held some other positions in administrative. Eḍarupalli record mentions them as 'Charmakāras'.¹⁵⁴ Contemporary literature like Kṛidābhīrāmam also refers to this caste of Chandālas.¹⁵⁵ Though this is not a recognised caste among Hindus, other religions like Jainism admitted this community into its fold and argued in their defence. For example in Yasastilaka there are some arguments advanced on their behalf, stating that they were not an 'impure' caste. It states that birth and family, castes and orders in Society, are matters of convention. According to it, in reality, there was neither a Brāhmaṇa nor a Chandāla.¹⁵⁶



Religions like Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism took this community also into their regular fold and several of them enjoyed status equal to that of the other followers of those doctrines.¹⁵⁷ This shows that there were tendencies towards liberalism in the treatment of Chandālas during the 12-15th Centuries A.D.

Whatever may be the standard of life in these days, the anti-civic and anti-dharma attitudes of at least some of the people of the period could have been traced. Kṛidābhirāman highlighted¹⁵⁸ the immoral activities of the people whereas records like that of Koravi inscription¹⁵⁹ mention severe punishments to prevent such crimes. Vēmula vāḍa Bhīma Kavi is stated to have been a son born to a widow.¹⁶⁰ This period witnesses the description of widows also in a romantic manner.¹⁶¹

Muslims:

There were Muslim settlements in small numbers in Āndhra even before the Muslim invasions took place. The Muslims came here and settled down on account, probably, of trade in horses. The demand for Arab horses was great among the rulers. Successive waves of Muslim invasions tended the growth of Muslim colonies in all important political centres. Though they were in a minority, compared to the Hindus, their warlike nature and religious zeal



affected Hindus a great deal and brought about changes in social traits, customs and beliefs. The early invasions, no doubt, resulted in the demolishing of places of Hindu worship.¹⁶² In the Kṛīḍābhīrāmam there is a reference to 'Turakalamasīdu'.¹⁶³ Inscriptions state that the temple of Śrīkūrmam was also destroyed and a mosque was erected at that place in the 16th Century.¹⁶⁴ But gradually harmony was established between the Hindus and the Muslims.

Marriages:

Let us now turn to the other aspects connected with Society. Marriage as an important religious sacrament and social institution has been accepted from times immemorial. Marriage within the caste was the accepted custom in the society of this period. We come across a number of marriages of various types both in the records and the literature of this period. The importance of the consent of the parents and elders before proposing a marriage is emphasised in Nannaya's Mahābhārata, though it is not emphasised in the Sanskrit Mahābhārata. In the case of royal families the choice of a bride was left to the bridegroom, Usually it is obligatory for the girl to accept the decision of her father in respect of choice of the bridegroom. This selection of partners was initially decided by seeing a picture or a painting of the bride groom as known from Kavyāṅkārachūdāma



Marriages among the ruling classes were arranged occasionally on political considerations. The Kāvvalankārachūdāmaṇi also testified to this fact.¹⁶⁶ These matrimonial alliances played a notable role in orienting the relations of the ruling families at any time in Indian history in general, and during this period in Āndhra history in particular. Considerations of superiority or inferiority of race, territorial distances, or past relations between the families never came in the way of these alliances. Bitter enemies turned, all on a sudden, nearest relatives with these marriages. These alliances played a healthy role in binding the two families. The Chālukyas of Vemulavāḍa and the Rāshtrakūṭas came together. Both the parties were benefited by these marriages. The Chālukyas of Vemulavāḍa could save themselves from the yoke of powerful families like the Chālukyas of Vēṅgī etc. The Rāshtrakūṭas could gain the timely cooperation and strong support of Vemulavāḍa chiefs during their conquests and on the occasions of internal unrest caused by struggle for succession. Similarly, it was due to the marriage relations with a number of strong chieftains that the Chālukya families of Mudigonda, Jananāthapura and Nidadavōlu, were able to establish themselves securely and survive various vicissitudes of fortune. But at the same time some alliances failed owing to lack of proper understanding. It seems they



absolutely failed in achieving their object of maintaining good relations between the parties. We can see this sorry state of affairs in the Vēṅgī-Malkhed relations.¹⁶⁷

Inspite of their strong differences, the Vanquished rulers often accepted the conditions inclusive matrimonial

alliances. At times this type of marriages became quite helpful in balancing the power of the inimical groups.

The Chōlas, who contracted alliances of marriage with the Chālukyas of Vēṅgī could with the latter's help check the authority of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa.¹⁶⁸ Similar political expediency could be found in the marital alliances which took place between the ruling families like Chālukya-Haihaya, Telugu Chōḍa-Reddi, Reddi-Rayas, Chālukya-Gaṇḍa, and Rāya-Gajapati. Thus the custom of marriage turned to be a political agreement between the victor and the vanquished.

The Vaiśyapurāṇam gives very important information, which is not known from other sources, regarding the marriage customs of the Vaiśya community. Though this is a work of the 16th Century, it is not wrong to state that it represents the social customs of the Vaiśyas even prior to that period. It severely criticises inter-caste marriages and orders the entire Vaiśya caste to follow 'mēnarikam' in settling their marriage alliances.¹⁶⁹ We have already seen how the Vaiśyas rejected the appeal made by the king to offer a girl of their community in marriage to him,



with a view to preserving this hallowed custom of 'mēnarikam'. They even sacrificed their lives to uphold their 'Kuladharmā'. The purāṇa further gives in detail the process of the seven-day-marriage among the Vaiśyas.¹⁷⁰ The actual process of marriage starts with the worship of Agni before the marriage day. On the marriage day five prōlika pillars are erected round the Kalyāṇa mandapa, and cooked rice, which is of four colours - black, yellow, red and white, is offered. Next, the gods, Indra, Agni, Yama, Varuṇa and Chandra are worshipped. On the second day of marriage took place the worship of gods of thirty-three crores and on the third-day the worship of the gōtras. On the fourth day 'Nīkabalī' is offered. On that occasion rice-flour, which is mixed with sugar, is distributed to all the relatives after offering it to their tutelary deity Kāmādhēnu, the divine cow. Navikāpūjā is celebrated on the fifth and sixth days. On the last day, i.e., on the seventh day, the 'Kankaṇas' are removed by the bride and bridegroom. On that occasion they once again worship Indra, Agni, Varuṇa, Yama and Chandra. Thus the process of marriage comes to a conclusion. In the absence of other evidence to the contrary it is believed that the entire process was in vogue among the Vaisyas during this period.

One inscription from Dandulūru refers¹⁷¹ to the annual



amount which would be given to the rulers on the occasion of the marriages that took place in the houses of the *Vaīśyas* of Dandulūru.

Similar details about the marriages in other communities are also known. An inscription from Bezvada¹⁷² dated A.D. 1253 records the 'Vivāhamaryāda' or marriage convention of the Telikis. It states that the *Vōlimaryāda* (bride price) for the first marriage should be 21 Chinnamādas (for the second marriage 12 silver mādas) and gold weighing 2 mādas by the bride's party. One *Sāsamāda* is to be paid by both parties as a marriage tax. It seems this tax was paid to the State through their guild, Telikivēvuru; and in addition a contribution to the guild of a certain amount (*Vīdemu*) seems to have been paid on that occasion. The *Ṭēki* plates of late 11th Century A.D. state that when a member of the Teliki community marries at Vijayawada, or at any other town, city, village or hamlet, the bridal pair should proceed on the roads on horse-back, and later when the marriage procession draws to a close, they should place a pair of valuable clothes at the feet of the king and prostrate before him; and they would then receive from him, betel served in a golden plate in accordance with the convention.¹⁷³



Regarding the age of the marriage, boys and girls were usually married quite young. The Nītivākyaṃṛita says¹⁷⁴ that the marriage age of boys was sixteen and of girls not above twelve. Therefore, we may say that pre-puberty marriages of girls were the order of the day at least among the Brāhmaṇas. This might be the cause for the increasing number of Brāhmaṇa-widows reference to which is made in the literature of this period like Kṛidābhīrāṇam¹⁷⁵ and Śrīnātha's works. But the Viññānēśvarīyaṃ does not impose any hard and fast rules regarding the marriageable age of girls.¹⁷⁶

Concerts of various musical instruments, recitation of verses by the poets in appreciations of the bridal pair, pronouncing of blessings by the scholars are associated with the process of marriages as described by Vinnakōṭa Peddaya.¹⁷⁷

It was customary among all classes of people to give dowry at the time of the marriage. It was known as 'Araṇamu'; and it was merely the gift given by the father on the occasion of the marriage of his daughter. In an inscription from Āchanta¹⁷⁸ it is said that Viṣṇuvardhana Vijayāditya gave his daughter Mañjarādēvī in marriage to Āsanta Sūraparāju, and on that occasion gave a garden,



which consisted of 500 arecanut trees, as dowry. In these marriages, elephants, horses, cows, men and maid-servants, besides ornaments were offered as dowry, depending upon the status of the bride's father.

In general, inter-caste marriages were rare.

Remarriage of widows was not allowed. Polygamy seems to have been quite common among the members of the royal families. Inscriptions state that the chiefs of this period married more than one wife.¹⁷⁹ Sati was not so common during this period, though there were some references to it in the contemporary literary works.¹⁸⁰

Position of Women:

Regarding the position of women, there are instances to prove their high status as well as to testify to their lack of freedom. As this was patriarchally organised society, there was nothing strange in putting restrictions on the freedom of women. According to Manusmṛiti "a woman does not deserve freedom".¹⁸¹ She was dependent on her father as a girl, on her husband as a wife and on her son as a widow. But her whole-time dependence did not mean that she was not honoured in the society. Manusmṛiti itself says that women must be honoured.¹⁸² Sōmadēvasūri in his Yasastilaka expressed his opinion that the freedom of women



should be controlled.¹⁸³ He warns every body to be on his guard in his relations with women.¹⁸⁴ The danger apprehended from women is also illustrated by the assertion that it is risky to educate them. These ideas are expressed in the story through the hero Yaśōdhara. In his words "who doth ever make a woman excel in wisdom, desiring his domestic peace? How can a man who nourishes a serpent with milk, profusely thrive?"¹⁸⁵

This idea of Somaśāstri does not reflect the actual position. We need not consider that the women in the society of that period did not enjoy any sort of freedom. For, there are contradictory evidences in the contemporary Rāshtrakūṭa records. Yajñavalkya smṛiti declares that where women are honoured, there the gods are pleased; where they are not honoured, no sacred rite yields reward.¹⁸⁶ Moreover, the role played by ladies in the politics of the period itself shows the extent of their freedom. A number of ladies were entertained in the royal services as well as in the temple services. A number of occupations of women of different castes are known through Kṛidābhīrāman and other literary works of this period. Some records also refer to the temple services rendered by women.¹⁸⁷ Lady ascetics that renounced all worldly dealings are known in this period also.¹⁸⁸



The highest virtue that was expected of a woman was devotion to her husband. They were praised as 'Pativratas' both in the records¹⁸⁹ and in Kāvya-lankā-rachūdāmaṇi.¹⁹⁰ While mentioning the characteristic features of a good house-wife, Rāvipāṭi Tripurāntaka, in his Madanaviḥāya states that it is the wife that makes the home a heaven or a hell; everything depends upon her to do or undo the domestic life.¹⁹¹ Though in the Vīra Śaiva literature like Śivatattvasāra¹⁹² it is said that women had a right to ignore their husbands, if the latter did not believe in Linga worship, their influence was not very effective in the then society.

On ceremonial occasions of coronations etc. and royal processions, or in the sacred religious festivals, Women in periods were prohibited from taking part as is known from Yasastilaka.¹⁹³

We come across women of different castes and of different ranks making endowments to the temples, choultries and to the Brāhmanas. From this it can be said that women of all castes and ranks enjoyed freedom to contribute freely and liberally in their individual capacities.

Widows and daughters were recognised as heirs. The stridhana or proprietary rights for women were also recognised in the Mitākshara of Viññānēśvara.¹⁹⁴



Women of higher classes and those belonging to the royal families seemed to have received formal education. Girls of royal family were given training in statecraft, in the art of fighting and in the fine arts. A number of women, particularly, courtesans, were experts in fine arts. Some of them were writers as well. From the Kāvūrabāhucharitra, it is evident that the girls of the Vaisya community were experts in the art of business.¹⁹⁵ There are some literary works like Kṛidābhīraṇam which describe the seamy side, the immoral activities of some women.¹⁹⁶

State of Learning:

The very purpose of education is to transmit culture from one generation to another. Its branches are unlimited. It is the standard reached in education that indicates the extent of enlightenment of any society. During this period, education and learning were mostly caste-oriented.

We come across a number of Brāhmaṇa scholars well-versed in different subjects, mentioned in the records of this period.¹⁹⁷ There are centres like 'Vāgīśaratnākara' which flourished under eminent scholars in all Śāstras.¹⁹⁸ A record from Pedacherukūru refers to the flourishing of 'Ashtādaśavidyas' in that village.¹⁹⁹ Besides Vēdic literature, grammar, philosophy, logic, astrology, politics, mathematics



and medicine were the subjects that were studied in general. The existence of 'Vidvanmahājanas', assemblies of scholars, is referred to in the records as well as in literature. One of such centres was Sūryanārāyaṇapuram.²⁰⁰ At Vēmulavāḍa, there was a 'Sūristhāna' an assembly which included scholars like Vidyārāśi and Vyākhyāna Bhaṭṭāraka.²⁰¹ It seems the common people acquired certain occupational skills which were hereditary. This does not mean that there was no system of public instruction. It was there but not on a large-scale. As observed by C.V. Ramachandra Rao,²⁰² "we do not find the subject of public instruction having ever engaged the thoughts of the rulers in Ancient and Medieval India". Agrahāras, the Brahmapuris, the Ghatikas, the temples and the maṭhas were the Centres of education. Temples and Brāhmaṇa scholars established their own educational centres. Students flocked to Agrahāras, as they were the abodes of eminent scholars. As educational institutions, the Agrahāras catered to the needs of the students in higher traditional Sanskrit learning.²⁰³ The actual motive behind the number of grants made to agraharas is nothing but to encourage and preserve traditional learning and culture. Literary works and inscriptions refer to the existence of some hundreds of agrahāras during this period.

Whereas 'agrahāras' promoted the study of Vēdas and



Sanskrit literature, the temples made provision for a study of several branches of knowledge including fine arts.

Both in the agrahāra and in the temple, education was free; and probably boarding and lodging facilities were also provided by the State for the teachers and the students.²⁰⁴

There are references to libraries attached to these educational centres. A record at Nagai dated A.D. 1136 refers to a library which was maintained by a number of Librarians.²⁰⁵ The Tadikonda plates of Ammaraja II of the Chālukya family of Vengi refer to his grant to a teacher of Sāmaveda.²⁰⁶ The records of the Rāshtrakūṭas, under whose subordination the Vemulavada family ruled, refer to the various arrangements made to improve the condition of educational institutions. They state that those institutions were financed partly by State aid and partly by private charity.²⁰⁷ An inscription from Sindhachalam dated A.D. 1281 mentions that provision was made in the temple to teach the Yajurveda, Purāṇa, Kāvya, Nāṭaka, Chhandas, Vyākaraṇa and abhidāna.²⁰⁸ Individuals also made their donations for upkeep of these institutions besides State-aid.²⁰⁹ Some guilds have also maintained these institutions.²¹⁰

Matha was another educational centre of this period. The mathas served the purpose of propagating religious education. Arikēsari I made the grant of a village by name Belmoga to Mugdhasivāchārya, the disciple of Sadyassivāchārya



of Āṅkuṭa gurukula,²¹¹ as a Vidyādāna, i.e., a gift intended for imparting religious education. At Ēlēsṡvareṃ, the place of residence of Mugdhaśivāchārya, there was probably a Śaiva maṭha of the Kālāmukha sect. At Drākshārāma there were mathas established by the rulers for the scholars who were interested in religious lore and learning.²¹²

In later times Gōlakī maṭha is well-known²¹³ as an educational centre with all facilities to students under Viśvēśvaradēśika, the spiritual guru of the Kakatīyas.

'Vidyāsatras' were also maintained by some temples.²¹⁴

A. Valdehi Krishna Murthy opines that during the period between A.D.1000-1250, some Vaiśyas engaged themselves in the study of Vēdas.

There was a marked development of the sciences of medicine, astronomy and astrology during this period. Arikēśari I is stated to have been a scholar in medicine.²¹⁵

From the Rāshṡrakūṭa records it is known that even Jainas had taken to astrology. One of the record states how a grant was made in favour of a Jaina Maṭha because its head had removed the evil influence of Saturn from which a feudatory Chālūkyā prince was suffering.²¹⁶ From this it is evident that astrology was wielding great influence on the popular mind as well as on the royal courts which used to maintain astrologers. Gift of land as Jyōthir Vṡritti



(astrological endowment) to Āditya Bhaṭṭopādhyāya and Viddana Bhaṭṭa is known from an inscription dated A.D. 1091 from Gaṅgaṇuram.²¹⁷ Siṅgha, the maternal grandfather of Jinavallabha, was a famous astrologer.²¹⁸ Vādam Annipaddayya, an astrologer, was allotted a share in the grant recorded in the Kolanupāka inscription.²¹⁹

The fine arts were in a more flourishing stage than earlier. Music and dance enjoyed royal patronage. Yasastilaka refers to the dancing halls in the royal courts and the various occasions for the dance-performances.²²⁰ Literature and inscriptions of the period offer much information on these subjects. In both these arts, as in literature, there are two modes or styles, viz., mārṅa and dēśi. Of these two, dēśi was the more popular style; Mārṅa was a classical and sophisticated mode. Just like in the other arts, scholars of the age showed particular interest in the mārṅa style. Tummedapadamulu, Mēlukolupulu, Parvatapadamulu, Hāratulu, Gobbipadamulu, Ocalapāṭalu, Dampullapāṭalu etc. are stated to have been popular among common people, and they come under 'dēśi',²²¹ style. Jinavallabha the brother of Pampa, declared that he was proficient in music, and could recite poetry melodiously.²²² Nṛitratnāvali²²³ written by Jāyapaṇāyaka of the Kākatiya period and Kṛīḍābhīrāma²²⁴ of Vallabhāmātya which belongs to the Reddi-Vijayanagar period refer to 'dēśi' style of music.



Jāyapanāyaka is stated to have written two books on music Geetaratnāvali and Vādyaratnāvali, which are not available at present.²²⁵ Regarding the 'mārga' style much information could be gathered ^{from} Saṅgitaratnākara of Sārangadēva,²²⁶ Panditārādhya-charitra²²⁷ of Pāṅkuriki Sōmana and Nṛittaratnāvali of Jāyapanāyaka—all belonging roughly to the 13th Century. They deal with Rāga, Tāla, Sthāyi, Śruti, Vāhani, Alātulu etc. in detail. Saṅgitaratnākara refers²²⁸ to a type of Rāga by name 'Āndhri' which probably took its origin from the various styles current in Āndhra. Singa II of the Rēcherla family wrote a commentary named Saṅgītasudhākaram on Sārangadēva's Saṅgitaratnākaram.²²⁹ Pedakōmati Vemāreddi of Koṇḍavīḍu wrote a book on music by name Saṅgītachintāmani. All these compositions make us surmise that the scholars of the day had a command over all forms of music which they defined and analysed to the minutest detail.

These arts had their roles in the temple-worship also. No religious ceremony in the temple was complete without these performances. Arrangements were made in every temple to extend patronage to fine arts like music and dance. Raṅgabhōga is mentioned²³⁰ as an important bhoga; and Nāṭyamandapas were erected in all important temples.²³¹ Provision was made in such temples for the maintenance of those artists.²³² Nārāyaṇa, minister of the Niḍadavōlu family,



provided for gīta, Vādyā and nr̥itta in the temple at Telikicherla and arranged for the employment of vocal musicians, dancers, flutists and drummers.²³³ The Panditārādhya Charitra describes²³⁴ a variety of dances and plays which were in vogue in Āndhra during that period. Tikkana, who translated the Mahābhārata into Telugu, mentions²³⁵ dance-styles like Dandālāsaka, Kuṇḍali, Prēṅkhana and Prēraṇi. Jāyapaṇāyaka's Nṛttaratnāvali describes²³⁶ all the forms of dance in detail. It is a monumental work on dance and deals with subjects like Nartanavivēkamu, Aṅganirūpaṇa, Chāri sthānaka, maṇḍala lakṣhaṇa etc. Jāyapa is an authority on the art of dancing in this period. Śrīnātha, in his Kaśikhandaṁ, mentions²³⁷ the dance styles of Pēraṇi, Kuṇḍali and Kaṇḍuka.

The art of dance was learnt not only by professional people but also by ordinary men and women. Folk dances were displayed on festive occasions by the members of even ordinary households.²³⁸ A record at Pañchadhārā refers to one 'Pōtunattavaḍu' a male dancer.²³⁹ Kaśikhandaṁ, the work of Śrīnātha, informs²⁴⁰ us of the dances of 'mārga' and 'dēsi' styles which were performed in the Bhīmēśvara temple at Drākṣhārāma during the festival of 'Śanivarōtsava'. Kumaregiri Redḍi of Rājamahēndravara wrote a book on Nāṭya by name Vasantarājīyam.²⁴¹ His brother-in-law and



commander-general Kāṭaya Vēmā Reddi wrote Kumāraqirirāṭīyam.²⁴² The Kāvyaṭāṇkāraśūdamāṇi refers²⁴³ to the patronage of dance under Viśvēśvaraḍēva.

A number of musical instruments are mentioned in literature and in inscriptions.²⁴⁴ Tukiṇamu, Śaṅkhu, Avarjāmu, Bhērī, Kāhālī, Tālamu, Vīṇa, flute etc. are some among them.

In general, the well-to-do classes and the Vēśya community practised these arts. Yasastilaka refers to the playing on flute and lyre by women.²⁴⁵ Lady drummers are also known. A number of panels in the temples from places like Vēmulaṇḍa were depicted with rows of lady-musicians. A record from Sīmhaḥchalām mentions²⁴⁶ that teaching of fine arts like dance and music took place in the temples. Records from Sīmhaḥchalām of this period mention²⁴⁷ the offerings made by dancers and musicians for the temple service.

A number of rulers and nobles were known to be proficient music. Veṅga, the minister of the Chāḷukya family of Nidāḍavōlu, is stated to have the title 'Sangīṭakalāpravīṇa'.²⁴⁸ Pratāpavīra Gaṅgarāju, a ruler of Jantarnāḍu, is described²⁴⁹ as 'Sangīṭajña'. Kṛishṇaḍēva, son of Māchirāja, is famous²⁵⁰ as 'Sangīṭāmbōdhi Chandra'. Some rulers of Rēcherla and Reddi families not only learned 'Lakshya' and 'Lakshana', but also wrote monumental works on these subjects.



The Kāvvalankārachūdāmaṇi repeatedly states²⁵¹ that king Viśvēśvara was proficient in Music. His court is described as an abode of skilful dancers and talented musicians.²⁵² Knowing Viśvēśvaradēva's fondness for music, poet Vinnakōṭa Peddaya described him in his Kāvvalankārachūdāmaṇi in some verses which could be sung in various musical tunes (rāgas). Among all those, the following verse²⁵³ is still appreciated by musicians and scholars as the best musical stanza of Peddaya.

"Nīsari nani nīsari dhani Nīsarimādhāri garima nīsariḡē rī
nīsariḡē niḡamāḡara ḡōsārulunum Jalukya Kula viśvēśā".

Food and Drinks:

Habits regarding food and drink generally depend upon the geographical conditions and the crops that are raised in that particular province.

Interestingly, questions of food and drink are discussed in relation to health and physical well-being in a large number of verses in Yasastilaka of Sōmadēvasūri.²⁵⁴ He remarks that just as food is not well cooked in a vessel that is neither covered nor stirred, so a man who has neither sleep nor exercise cannot digest what he eats. All stale food with the exception of clarified butter and liquids, and food containing hair or worms should be avoided.



One should also abstain from the extremes of overeating and under-eating, or eating a mixture of hygienic and unhygienic food or eating immediately after eating without allowing a proper interval. He recommends certain kinds of food for particular seasons. In autumn, one should take sweet, bitter and astringent things; in the rainy and winter seasons, sweet, salty and sour things; in spring pungent, bitter and astringent things; and in summer mild preparations.²⁵⁵ All these details from Yasastilaka exhibit what knowledge people in the 10th Century had about what types of food and drink were suitable for maintaining sound health in the various seasons round the year.

Several edibles find mention in the temple records as well as in the literature of this period. But all these varieties of dishes relate to the vegetarian stuff, as no non-vegetarian food can be offered to the gods in the temples. Brāhmanas and saints ate only vegetarian meal. The Kollipāra plates particularly mention²⁵⁶ how Mugdhaśivāchārya the Jain monk, was a vegetarian.

Rice was, and still is, the main item of the daily vegetarian meal. Yasastilaka states that in Śrāddha Karmas, Brāhmanas ate rice gruel.²⁵⁷ A variety of items in the meal are referred to in the records²⁵⁸ of Simhāchalam: Ghee,



pulse-soup, curries, kuḍumus, bhōṇḍas and drinks like pāyasa, curd and milk. Besides this daily meal, the temple records from Sindhāchalam and Śrīkūrmam furnish an elaborate list of sweetmeats and savouries.²⁵⁹

Such a large variety of dishes does not find mention in the (records of) Śaivite temples at Drākshārāma, Bhīmavaram, Pañchadhārāla and at many other places.

It is the characteristic feature of the ritual in Vaiṣṇava temples to perform many bhogas which include various offerings; hence such large variety of offerings. This practice continues enabling the people to enjoy them as the Lord's prasāda. Ariselu, Hamsakālilu, Karpūrakāntalu, Kākharalu, Laddu and Pāyasam are some among those sweets.²⁶⁰ Kuḍumulu, Aṭlu, Bhōṇḍālu, Atukulu, Dadhyōdanamu etc. are the important savouries.²⁶¹ Some inscriptions refer to the

ingredients of which some of these items are made. Appālu are made of a mixture of rice-flour and blackgram-flour mixed in the proportion 3:1 and roasted in ghee.²⁶² Similarly gāryelu or vaḍamulu are prepared with another combination of the same flours.²⁶³ Sugar and jaggery are referred to as 'Khaṇḍamu' and 'Cherakumquḍmu'.²⁶⁴ Any meal or naivēdyam ends only with Tāmbūla or Viḍiyam. The fine variety in these Tāmbūlas is 'Karpūravīḍemu' which included a number of spices. Drinking of intoxicated wines is common, as its use even by ladies is stated in Kavvalankārachūḍamani.²⁶⁵



Dress and Ornaments:

Shirt, dhōvati, uttarīyam and kaupīna are the dresses commonly worn by men. Talachīras or turbans are also referred²⁶⁶ to in the Kāvvalankārachūdāmaṇi. Sari and jacket (Revika or Kuppāsamu) are the important articles of dress of women. These dresses were made of coarse cloth, or fine linen or silk. Coloured cloth, either dyed or printed, found favour with the people of these times as the literature of the time testifies.²⁶⁷ The variety and texture of cloth varied from person to person basing on his taste and economic status. Mañjista Chīralu and Vella-Chīralu are referred to in a record of Śrīkūrmam²⁶⁸ dated A.D.1293. Nāra Chīralu are referred to in Kāvvalankārachūdāmaṇi.²⁶⁹

Ornaments:

Mangalasūtra was, and is, a compulsory and sacred ornament of every married woman. Kaṇṭhikahāras, Melatalārubha-dhras, Kundalas, Murugulu, mukkerā, Tāṭankamulu, Mutyālāhāramulu, Vaddāṇamu, bangles, rings, Andalu, Muvvalu, Gājjaḷu, were the main ornaments worn by people of the period. Abhilashitārdha Chintāmaṇi and the Telugu literature of the period are full of references²⁷⁰ to these several kinds of ornaments, in addition to those found in records. Kāvvalankārachūdāmaṇi



described the 'Molanūlu' of the lady as the second arrow of Manmatha, the god of love.²⁷¹ These ornaments were made of different metals like gold, silver, copper, alloys like bronze and brass and also of cheap materials like shells. Alankārapēṭi, the chest of various ornaments, is mentioned in the records.²⁷² The use of mirrors for decoration is mentioned in Kavvalankārachūdāmaṇi.²⁷³

Perfumes and Flowers:

Cosmetics and flowers were used by the people of this period. Obviously, cosmetics were treated as luxuries indulged in by the wealthy whereas flowers were a pleasure that any one could afford. 'Vasanatōtsava' the well known Spring festival, and the marriage celebrations were the main occasions for the use of all those perfumes. There are references to garland-makers and perfume-dealers in Yasastilaka.² The works of Śrīnātha refer²⁷⁵ to the perfumes of a number of varieties used in this period. A record from Simhachalam mentions sandal, camphor, aloe wood, musk, rose-water etc. as the cosmetics used in Aṅgabhōga, besides flowers and garlands.²⁷⁶ Gift of flower-gardens to temples was a common feature.²⁷⁷ Jinavallabha himself states that he planted a garden by name 'Madana Vilāsa'.²⁷⁸ We come across a number of references in this period to the sweet-smelling flowers like Mogali, Pogada, Chēmanti, and Sāmpange.²⁷⁹



Ponna, Tilaka, Virajāji, Toga, Punnāga, Śirīsha, Tāmara and Kaluva are the types of flowers mentioned in Kāvvalankārachūdāmaṇi. The Chātus of Bhīmakavi refer to 'Malle' flowers.²⁸⁰ These flowers were worn both by men and women.

Kāvvalankārachūdāmaṇi states that there were arrangements to sprinkle, with machines, water to cool the atmosphere to protect themselves from the effects of hot summer.²⁸¹

Festivals, Games and Amusements:

Festivals, games and amusements of the people during the period indicate the standard of their culture. Though we come across very few references to them in the source material of the Chālukya families, other contemporary evidences enable us to estimate their general condition.

Numerous social, romantic, seasonal and religious festivals are referred to in the literature of this period. 'Madanamahōtsava' or 'Vasantōtsava' is described at length in Sanskrit and Telugu works, and records of this period. The Reddi rulers, the contemporaries of the Chālukyas of Elamañchili, were the well-known patrons of this festival.²⁸² Regarding seasonal and religious festivals, Uttarāyaṇa Sankrānti,²⁸³ Dīpāvali,²⁸⁴ Mahāśivarātri²⁸⁵ etc. were the prominent festivals celebrated in this period. Besides these, there were some regional festivals observed



in particular places. Nṛsiṃhajayanti in Śrīkūrmam and
Sīmhāchalām,²⁸⁶ Śanivārōtsava in Pālakollu,²⁸⁷ Kalyāṇōtsava
of deities of every village, belong to this category.

The festival of 'Gōdāvarī pushkaram', which comes once in
every twelve years is referred to in a record dated A.D.1423
from Palivela.²⁸⁸ It is interesting to note that the
Jaina works like Yaśastilaka of the early period also
refer to the festivals like Mahānavami and Dīpāvalī.²⁸⁹

Hunting was a favourite pastime of the ruling class
and the nobles. Tradition states that this habit of the
ruling class paved the way to the foundation of the kingdom
of Vijayanagar. Harihararāya and Bukkarāya could find
a suitable place to establish their kingdom,²⁹⁰ when they
were on a hunt. Thus 'hunting' has played a notable role
in the lives of the rulers. But it is considered to be one of
the 'Sapta Vyasanas', and so indulgence in it should not
become an all-absorbing passion. Following tradition, the
rulers of the Chālukya families also made expeditions into
forests to hunt cruel animals. Kāvvalankārachūdāmaṇi refers
to Viśvēśvara's habit of Tiger-hunting. It states that the
purpose behind the tiger-hunt was to protect the cows etc.
from those cruel animals and for the skins of those animals.²⁹¹

We frequently hear of amusements like elephant-fights,
duel-fights (Āṅkayuddhamu), bull-fights, cock-fights etc.



in the literature of this period. Abhilashitārdhachintāmaṇi, Siṃhāsanādhavatrinsika, Kṛidābhirāmaṇam etc. mention different types of those fights. In the adhishṭhāna mouldings of the Bhīmēśvara temple of Vēmulavāḍa a number of panels depicting such fights were carved. But among those pastimes, we do not come across any references to elephant-fights in the later part of this period.²⁹² However, Dēvarāya II (1422-46) was called 'Gaje-bēntakāra'. Vanavihāra, Jalakṛida, playing with birds like Kīra and Sāba etc. are referred to in Kāvvalankārachūdāmaṇi as the recreations of the nobles.²⁹³ Besides all these, gardening happened to be an interesting hobby practised in this period. While describing the Vanavihāra of Viśvēśvara in the Kāvvalankārachūdāmaṇi, Peddaya stated in detail the various 'dōhadakriyas' that were to be followed in gardening various plants.²⁹⁴

Among the indoor games and recreations were Jūdāmulu, Ōmaṇa-guṇṭalu, achchanagandlu etc.²⁹⁵ The Palnāṭivīra Charitra refers²⁹⁶ to a number of children's games like guḍiguḍi kuñchāmu and dāguḍumūṭalu some of which are familiar even today. Swimming, dicing etc. are mentioned as the games of the adults. Tōlubommalāṭalu, Veedhināṭakālu etc. are known²⁹⁷ to be the other entertainments of the period.

Economic Conditions:

The economic condition of a society mostly depends



upon so many factors like the soil of the land and natural resources, trade and industry, royal encouragement etc. In general, the soil has been good and irrigated by the waters of rivers like Wannēru, Gōdāvarī, Ēla, Varāha and Śārada. In addition to these, major and minor irrigation sources like canals and tanks are also known to exist in this period. Sasvānandam the only Telugu literary work of the age and the one written under the patronage of the Chālukyas of Elamañchili narrates,²⁹⁸ in detail, the climatic conditions required for cultivation of various crops. This work itself is a testimony to the knowledge of the people in the field of agriculture and in the study of nature. The Kolanubāka inscription of Indusēkhara, which mentions²⁹⁹ the construction of an irrigation canal, reflects royal patronage and encouragement in promoting agriculture. Thus a number of records and literature of the period offer much information about the economic condition of that society.

The types of land, taxation etc. have already been dealt with under revenue administration and a note on the professional classes has already found place in the social conditions.

A majority of the people, particularly Śūdras, were engaged in agriculture. Though large extents of land were given to a number of Brāhmanas, they were generally cultivated



by the members of the Sudra caste. Examples of Brāhmaṇas cultivating their lands were rare. To meet the requirements of the ever-growing population efforts were made to bring large tracts of land under the plough and to increase the output of crops.

During this period large areas around Mudigonda in Telangāṇa, and considerable chunks of East Godavari and Visakhapatnam districts of the Coastal tract were covered by great jungles. Elamañchilli was selected by Kokkili Vikramāditya of the Vēṅgī-Chālukya family, to protect himself in the 8th Century, as it was a hill-tract providing security.³⁰⁰ These upland and hilly tracts are formed of hard clay and rocky soils. Amidst these, both in Telangāṇa and Āndhra there were also fertile black cotton soils which are congenial to any sort of crop-rearing. For example in the inscription itself the soil of village Kriyvaḥa in the Palvanḥa Taluq is stated to have been very fertile.³⁰¹ There are also a number of fertile agrahāras on the banks of river Gōdāvarī. As such agriculture was limited in extent; and confined to the regions which were fed by water adequately.

The raising of chief crops in different localities was determined mainly by the nature of the soil, quantum of rainfall and other climatic conditions. Rice and millet were the staple crops. The Vṛittis given in some records³⁰²



to carpenters and blacksmiths of the village required that they should discharge their social obligation of manufacturing and supplying agricultural implements to the farming community. Blacksmiths were among the twelve servants of the village.³⁰³ The harvesting seasons for crops, like Vaisākha and Kārtika, are referred to in a number of records.³⁰⁴

Rainfall is the main source for irrigation as known from Kāvvalankārachūdāmaṇi.³⁰⁵ A number of Āvas, tanks, Kuntas or Guntas are also referred to in the records.³⁰⁶ In addition to these, perennial rivers like those already mentioned supplied water to a considerable extent. In spite of all these sources, there was need for artificial irrigation. Kāvvalankārachūdāmaṇi also mentions some lands which had no irrigation facilities.³⁰⁷ To meet in their requirements, construction of huge tanks and canals became imperative; and hence such projects were undertaken by the rulers of the times. Śrīnātha, in the Phirāṅgipuram inscription states³⁰⁸ that Peda Kōmativēmā Reddi's wife Sūramāmba constructed an ocean like tank 'Santāna Sāgara' in A.D.1409. Irrigation by tanks or reservoirs formed by constructing embankments across two hills is referred to in the Haravilāsam of Śrīnātha.³⁰⁹ Chālukya Induśekhara is stated³¹⁰ to have constructed a canal by name 'Vamśavardhana' near Kolanupāka in



the Nalgonda district. A record from Drākshārāma refers³¹¹ to 'Vidīnīru' and 'Ētamunīru', as the arrangements designed for the flow of water into the fields. Virāmbika, the bhōgastri of Nṛsiṃha of the Elamañchili family, constructed a big tank named Vīrasāgaram at Pañchadhārāla.³¹² It is now found in a ruined state but still supplies water to the fields in the neighbourhood. These efforts to help the farmer recount the State encouragement to irrigation schemes.

Sasyānandam refers to a number of crops and conditions favourable for their cultivation.³¹³ The raising of those crops is attested to by contemporary Telugu literature and records. Moreover, literary works, like those of Śrīnātha refer, to various types of the same crops. They state that Kalama, Śāli, Śīrāmukha, Sastika, patāṅga, hāyana, rājānam were the common varieties of paddy.³¹⁴ Korra lu, Āllu, Gōdhumalu, Anumulu, Kollulu were the other food-grains mentioned in Kāvvalankārachūdāmaṇi.³¹⁵

Panasa, Kanda, Zīlakarra were some of the other varieties.³¹⁶ The vegetables Gummadikāya, Araṭikāya, Vaṅkāya and spices like Miriyālu are mentioned in a record from Bhīmavaram.³¹⁷ Tamarind crop is referred to in the Pithāpuram pillar inscription of Vishṇuvardhana Mallapa.³¹⁸ Frequent references to oil-mills as grants to temples in Telāṅgāna suggest



the plentiful crop of oil-seeds in that area.³¹⁹

Allied to agriculture are cattle-rearing and dairy-farming. People engaged themselves in these occupations as secondary sources of livelihood. In Yasastilaka Sōmadēva describes the prosperous condition of dairy-farming.³²⁰ Generally, the lower castes were the custodians of the cattle. A number of records in various temples refer to the grants of cattle and make it obligatory on their custodians to supply ghee for the maintenance of lamps in the temples.³²¹ The Vaiśvapurāṇam observes that cattle-rearing was one of the main professions of the Vaiśyas.³²²

Whereas a majority of the people were engaged in agriculture and its allied occupations, the other communities turned their attention to industrial undertakings, trade and commerce, and services in the royal court and the temple.³²³ No large-scale industries are found in this period. But there is no scarcity for any industrial goods. The artisans of the various professions supplied goods of all types and of all categories to meet the demands in their areas. The goldsmith, the blacksmith, the carpenter, the mason, the brazier, the potter, the weaver, and the dyer—all these come under the industrial classes. Among them, the men who worked on metals formed into a corporate body



named 'Pañchānamvāru'.³²⁴ A record from Pālakollu refers to "Pañchānamvāru of akhiladēsālu".³²⁵ Gold and silver ornaments, copper vessels, bronze bells, lamp-stands etc. were mentioned in the records of these families. The work of one expert goldsmith is mentioned in the Drākshārāma record of Annadēva Chōḍa, son of Chōḍa Bhaktirāja: he has provided the Suvarṇa Kalāśa, Suvarṇa Vṛishabha, and Suvarṇa covering over the śikhara of the Bhīmēśvara temple.³²⁶ King Viśvēśvaradēva is stated to have erected a 'garuḍārōhaṇa stāmbha' of iron at Simhāchalam.³²⁷ Pañchavaktrekōhaḷi of gold was offered to Dharmēśa of Pañchadhārāla.³²⁸ Similarly the grant of bells is also stated.³²⁹ 'Kañcharivāḍa' is referred to in the records.³³⁰ A record from Pañchadhārāla points to the existence of the guild of Pañchālulu in this area. It registers the sale of some land that belongs to Pañchālulu and Nāyulu.³³¹ The reference to various professionals in the Eḍarupalli reissued record³³² suggests the prevalence of industries of oil-pressing and wood-carving, textiles, pottery etc. during this period. Contemporary Telugu literature offers a number of instances which speak of the flourishing state of the industries.

Village artisans like the carpenter, the smith, the potter etc. were maintained by the community by the assignment of a certain gain-share from each farmer, in return for which



the artisans were to supply his needs during the year.³³³
This system is continuing still today in Āndhra.

Yasastilaka and Nitivākṣāmrīta refer³³⁴ to large marts, private and public, where merchants from various countries were allowed to carry on their business, rates of toll and rent being extremely moderate. In the Nitivākṣāmrīta, Sōmadēva speaks of³³⁵ Pinṭha as a state organisation, and observes that a mart 'maintained with justice' is a source of endless profits to the king. The Pinṭha is described in the Nitivākṣāmrīta as 'Paṇyaputaḥbhēdini', containing diverse places for storing commodities. It seems to have had an elaborate organisation as gathered from the description in the Yasastilaka. The granting of proper facilities and protection to merchants was the chief aim of these emporia, even because they formed an important source of revenue to the State.

Though clear evidences are not known from available sources, it can be said that Āndhra of this period was a Centre for both external and internal trade. With a view to encouraging trade and commerce, it seems the rulers of this period used to accord some concessions to the training guilds.³³⁶ A number of records of this period refer to various guilds, communal as well as professional.³³⁷ Occasionally, these guilds collected contributions and made



levies as could be seen from a record from Drākshārāma.³³⁸

The inscription mentions Virabalanja organisations in Tuni, Māmidāda etc. Gaṇapatidēva's Mōṭupalli inscription recording concessions to foreign merchants visiting that port is famous. The articles of trade range from the surplus produce of grain to the high-priced spices.

Village fairs or Santas, and Aṅgaḍis were the Centres of trade. One record from Dendulūru refers to Vira Kōṁaṭi Aṅgaḍi Vīdhi.³³⁹

A record from Śrīkūrmam dated A.D.1284 refers to one 'Aṅgaḍināyaka' the Chief of the Aṅgaḍi.³⁴⁰

An inscription dated A.D.1147 mentions that the Santa at Koṭyadona was held on Thursdays.³⁴¹

In the Kṛidābhīrāma also, there is a reference³⁴² to 'Mailla Santa'. From

Mañchana's Kāvīrabāhucharitra, it is evident that barter system was also in vogue. It states the rate of one mānika of oil was seven mānikas of rice.³⁴³

Śrīnātha, in his Haravilāsam, refers to the large scale trading activity

undertaken by the merchants of the time.³⁴⁴ It is believed

that in every important town and village there was a business organisation.³⁴⁵

Nāṇḍesī trading communities are referred to in the records.³⁴⁶

Records from Siṁhāchalam suggest that these communities came from Chōḷa country in the 12th Century.³⁴⁷

A record from Maḍutūru in the Elamañchili Taluq dated

A.D.1197 mentions a guild of several merchants which permitted



two Vaisyas to construct a temple by name Chōlēsvaradēva. This positively suggests that they came from the Chōla country.³⁴⁸ The Vaiśyapurāṇam is also an evidence to trace the business activity in Coastal Āndhra.

The principal means of transport was the bullock-cart. Horses were fairly dear and were therefore not available for transport purposes.³⁴⁹

A number of coins of gold and silver are mentioned in our records; but it is strange that so far not a single coin belonging to these Chālukya dynasties has been found. Damma, Gadyāṇa, Sasukāṇi tāṇka, Nishka, Gaṇḍamāḍa, Rūka etc. are the principal coins mentioned in this period. Tumu, Paṇḍumu, Puṭṭi, Kuṇḍhamu, Māṇika, Tavva, Vaṭamu etc. are the measures.

Though there is no clear evidence, we can trace some important inland routes, connecting different parts of the country. Ketana of the 13th Century in his Āndhra Bhāṣā Bhūṣhaṇam refers to a main route to Ayōdhya from Kañchī, which passed through Nellōre and Warangal in Andhra Pradesh.³⁵⁰ It is also noticed that this route passed through Vēmulavāḍa.³⁵¹ Though there are routes like these, the insecurity to the Caravan passing along them and the absence of proper



communications made the traders of the period to form into a corporate body for mutual aid and for providing armed escort. We find a number of records referring to such guilds, only from this period in the history of Āndhra.³⁵²

These guilds are described by Vijñānēśvara as 'Śrēṇis'.³⁵³ As Altekar observes that the whole of the Deccan was spread with a network of guilds which used to regulate trade and industry and banking business.³⁵⁴ It is very interesting to note that the executive committees of these guilds find mention in the Nītivākyaṃrita of Sōmadēvasūri.³⁵⁵ Similar corporate bodies are known among Telikis,³⁵⁶ Vīrabalañjas,³⁵⁷ and Nagaras.³⁵⁸ We do not have any detailed account of the articles that were exported or importated in this period. But Śrīnātha in his Haravilāsaṃ describes³⁵⁹ some imported items from various countries, like silk from China, and perfumes from South-East Asia etc.



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121. Ibid., No.152; Vol. IV, no.666.



122. Studies in Economic and Social Conditions of Medieval Andhra (A.D.1000-1600), pp.40-41.
The Purāna states that one Chālukya Vishṇuvardhana Mahārājādeva Ballāla Vīra Perumāḷ Pratāpa Chōla was the ruler of Bezvada in A.D.1187. But N. Venkataramanayya observed that such a Chālukya Ruler is not found anywhere in South Indian History and denies the historicity of that Purāna.
123. A.R.E., Cp. No.5 of 1903.
124. S.I.I., Vol. V, No.1316.
125. Studies in Economic and Social Conditions of Medieval Andhra (A.D.1000-1600), p.39.
126. Kannada Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, No.54.
127. A.R.E., No.170 of 1966.
128. S.I.I., Vol. X, No.263.
129. Ibid., Nos.112, 132, 164 etc., Vol. VI, No.666.
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131. Ibid., p.86.
132. S.I.I., Vol. VI, No.1000.
133. Panditārādhyā Charitra, pp.344-348.
134. Kumārasambhavam, Canto, 9, Verses 131-143.
135. Kāvvalankārachūdāmaṇi, Ullāsa 3, Verse 34.
136. Śrī Vāsava Kanvakāpurāṇam, Chapter 45, Verse 20.
137. Kṛidābhirāmaṁ, Verse 253.
138. Bhīmeśvarapurāṇamu, Āśvāsa I, Verse 113.
139. S.I.I., Vol. IV, No.1373.
140. E.I., Vol. VI, p.102.
141. A.R.E., No.743 of 1920.



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143. Kāvvalankārachūdāmaṇi, Ullāsa 3, Verse 120.
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145. Ibid., Vol. V, No.1188.
146. Ibid., Vol. VI, No.668.
147. A.S.P.P., Vol.11, p.241.
148. S.I.I., Vol. X, Nos.110, 348, etc.
149. Ibid.
150. Ibid., Vol. VI, Nos.950 and 954.
151. Ibid., Vol. IV, No.989.
152. History of the Reddi Kingdoms, p.279.
153. Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Warangal District, No.87; Sri Vāsava Kanvakāsurāṇam, Chapter 46, Verse 23.
154. Bhāratī, Jan., 1968, p.3.
155. Kṛidābhirāmaṇam, Verse 73.
156. Yasastilaka and Indian Culture, p.31.
157. Social and Economic Conditions in Eastern Deccan, p.50.
158. Kṛidābhirāmaṇam, Verses 210, 248 etc.
159. Epi. Andhrīca, Vol. I, p.142.
160. Āndhra Kavitarangini, Vol. I, pp.208-211.
161. Kṛidābhirāmaṇam, Verse, 168.
162. History of the Reddi Kingdoms, p.281.
163. Kṛidābhirāmaṇam, Verse 149.
164. S.I.I., Vol. V, No.1312.
165. Kāvvalankārachūdāmaṇi, Ullāsa 4, Verse 59.



166. Ibid., Ullāsa 3, Verse 29.
167. The Eastern Calukyas of Vēṅgī, p.101.
168. Ibid., p.226.
169. Śrī Vāsava Kanyakāpurāṇam, Chapter 40, Verses 53-54.
170. Ibid., Chapter 44, Verses 75-85.
171. S.I.I., Vol. VII, No.737.
172. Ibid., Vol. IV, No.797.
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174. Yasastilaka and Indian Culture, p.122.
175. Kṛidābhirāma, Verse 210.
176. History of the Reddi Kingdoms, p.328.
177. Kavyāṅkārachūdāmaṇi, Ullāsa 3, Verse 128.
178. S.I.I., Vol. X, No.349.
179. Ibid., Vol. IV, Nos.1191, 1192, 1195, 1196, 1197 and 1198.
180. History of the Reddi Kingdoms, p.349.
181. Cited in Social and Economic Conditions in Eastern Deccan, p.51.
182. Ibid.
183. Yasastilaka and Indian Culture, p.35.
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186. Social and Economic Conditions in Eastern Deccan, p.52.
187. S.I.I., Vol. IV, No.1288, etc.
188. Kannada Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, No.36.
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191. Vīṇānadīpika, Vol. I, p.400.
192. Śivatatvasāraṃ, Verse 231.
193. Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture, p.28.
194. Rashtrakutas and Their Times, p.341.
195. Kāvūrabāhucharitra, Āśvāsa II, Verse 11.
196. Kṛīḍābhirāmaṃ, Verse 290, etc.
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201. Ibid., No.170 of 1966.
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205. Social and Economic Conditions in Eastern Deccan, p.128.
206. E.I., Vol. XXIII, p.161.
207. Rashtrakutas and Their Times, p.404.
208. S.I.I., Vol. VI, No.904.
209. Ibid., No.1177.
210. Rashtrakutas and Their Times, p.405.
211. Bhārati, Aug., 1930, p.297.
212. S.I.I., Vol. IV, No.1281.
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217. Kannada Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, No.20.
218. Epi. Andhrica, Vol. II, p.21.
219. C.I.I., Vol. II, No.25.
220. Yāśastilaka and Indian Culture, p.32.
221. Panditārādhya Charitra, Chapter III, p.513.
222. Epi. Andhrica, Vol. II, p.21.
223. Social and Economic Conditions in Eastern Deccan, p.182.
224. Kṛidābhīrāmam, Verse 116.
225. Social and Economic Conditions in Eastern Deccan, p.182.
226. Dakṣhiṇadēśamulu-Nāṭyam, p.54.
227. Panditārādhya Charitra, Parvataprakaraṇa, p.443.
228. Dakṣhiṇadēśamulu-Nāṭyam, p.54.
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230. S.I.I., Vol. VI, No.668.
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232. Administration and Social Life Under the Later Eastern Gangas and Survayamaśa Gaṇapatīs, p.324.
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234. Panditārādhya Charitra, Chapter V, p.435.
235. Śrīmadāndhra Mahā Bhārata, Virāṭaparva, Āśvāsa I, Verses 239-241.
236. Social and Economic Conditions in Eastern Deccan, p.183.
237. Kāśīkhaṇḍam, Chapter VI, Verses 169, 296 etc.



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241. History of the Reddi Kingdoms, p.427.
242. Ibid.
243. Kāvvalankārachūdāmani, Ullāsa 2, Verse 8.
244. S.I.I., Vol. V, No.1150; Vol. VI, No.1052.
245. Yasastilaka and Indian Culture, p.28.
246. S.I.I., Vol. VI, No.1091.
247. Ibid., Nos.1052 and 1137.
248. Ibid., Vol. VII, No.737.
249. Ibid., Vol. VI, No.725.
250. Ibid., No.780.
251. Kāvvalankārachūdāmani, Ullāsa 1, Verse 9.
252. Ibid., Ullāsa 2, Verse 57.
253. Ibid., Ullāsa 6, Verse 69.
Chittibabu, the famous Vainika of the present day states that this Verse is fine and melodious and set to Kalyāṇī rāga and Rūpaka tāla (Samagra Andhra Sāhityam, Vol. IV, p.99).
254. Yasastilaka and Indian Culture, p.112.
255. Ibid.
256. Bhārati, Aug., 1930, p.297.
257. Yasastilaka and Indian Culture, p.35.
258. S.I.I., Vol. VI, Nos.873, 896 etc.
259. Ibid., Nos.695, 731, 914, 923, 1006 etc.
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261. Ibid., Nos.695, 706, 731, 823, 893 etc.
262. Ibid., No.699.
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269. Kāvvalankārachūdāmaṇi, Ullāsa 6, Verse 110.
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273. Kāvvalankārachūdāmaṇi, Ullāsa 1, Verse 68.
274. Yāśastilaka and Indian Culture, p.122.
275. Haravilāsam, Chapter VI, Verses 26, 28 etc.
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280. Chāturadvamanimañjarī, p.113.
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286. Ibid., Vol. VI, No.896.
287. Ibid., Vol. V, No.138.
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290. A Forgotten Empire, p.286.
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293. Kāvvalankārachūdāmaṇi, Ullāsa 1, Verse 27.
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297. Kṛidābhirāmaṇam, Verse 122.
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299. C.T.I., Vol. II, No.25.
300. The Eastern Cālukyas of Vēṇṇī, p.71.
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304. The Kakatiyas of Warangal, p.209.
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310. C.T.I., Vol. II, No.25.
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312. Ibid., Vol. VI, No.662.
313. Bhārati, June 1946, p.500.
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316. Ibid., Verse 138.
317. S.I.I., Vol.V, No.65.
318. E.I., Vol. IV, p.226.
319. Kannada Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, No.54.
320. Yāśastilaka and Indian Culture, p.119.
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325. S.I.I., Vol. V, No.158.
326. Ibid., Vol. IV, No.1347.
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331. Ibid., No.666.
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340. Ibid., Vol. V, No.1163.
341. Ibid., No.65.
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343. Kēvūrabāhucharitra, Verse 26.
344. Haravilāsam, Chapter VI, Verses 26, 28 etc.
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351. Karimnagar District Gazetteer, p.133.
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CHAPTER - IX

RELIGION AND ART

Religion is one of the social institutions. The religion of one region differs from that of another; and it undergoes numerous vicissitudes even within the same area from time to time. During the period of rule of these families, society came under the impact of many religious thrusts viz., Buddhism, Jainism, and Brāhmaṇism with its various later manifestations like Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism and Śāktism. As such, the clash of ideas was prevalent though there were few persecutions on that score. Toleration of other religions was the general characteristic of the age.

BUDDHISM

Buddhism was the dominant religion in the early Centuries of the Christian era. But it declined definitely by the 6th - 7th century A.D. Revival of Brāhmaṇism, and lack of royal patronage and tantric practices among Buddhists may be stated as the causes for its decline. In Telugu, a vulgar term 'Lañja dibba' (Mound of prostitute) denotes the site of an ancient Buddhist establishment.¹ This term shows how Buddhism came to be despised by the people and how moral depravity of the Buddhist monks and nuns tarnished that religion.



In spite of its decline, the influence of Buddhism on the then Āndhra culture could not be denied. Hārīti, most probably the earliest goddess worshipped by the Buddhists lost her sectarian character and became the family deity of the Chālukyas.² Similarly, there was a remarkable correspondence between the pantheons that were worshipped in Buddhism and in Hinduism during this period.³ Tara in the Buddhist pantheon is represented in sculpture as Sarasvatī at places like Amarāvati, and similar evidence is forthcoming from the Kēdārēśvara temple of Vēmulaṇḍa. The culmination of this process is marked by the admission of the Buddha into the pantheon of Hindu gods as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. But this inclusion of Buddha as an incarnation of Viṣṇu appears to have been opposed at one stage.⁴ On the basis of the commentary of Gauḍapāda on Māṇḍūkyaopaniṣad, B.S.L. Hanumantharao observes that the Buddha must have been recognised as an avatāra of Viṣṇu before A.D. 725.⁵ But regarding the position accorded to the Buddha in the avatāras, there was a noticeable difference between the adherents of the two religions. The Hindus regarded the Buddha as on par with any of the other avatāras of Viṣṇu, whereas the Buddhists claimed superior status to the Buddha. In an interesting sculpture in the temple of Sūrya, assigned to the 10th Century A.D., from Ālampūr in the Mahaboobnagar district



of Andhra Pradesh, nine avatars of Vishnu were depicted. In that panel the Buddha is given the central position and his image is slightly bigger than the sculptures of other avatāras that surround him.⁶ It gives us the impression that the Buddha was conceived as superior to the other avatars and that the latter 'emanated' from him. In the Dasavatāra sculpture assigned to the same Century discovered recently at Yellēsvaram, the figure of the Buddha is shown as one of the avatars without any special significance attached to it.⁷

The figure of the Buddha is carved as one among the other avatāras both in the Bhīmēśvara temple and in the Kēdārēśvara temple of Vēmulavāda. As that avatāra panel in the Bhīmēśvara temple happens to be in the 'adhishṭhāna' mouldings, and as the same temple was referred to as Baddegēśvara temple during the period of Arikēsari II, it is believed that the panel now seen was depicted as it was in the period before Arikēsari II. Such a presumption leads us to think of the popularity of the Buddha as an incarnation of Vishnu, in the region of Vēmulavāda in the 9th and 10th centuries.

But this process of Hinduisation of Buddhist deities could not have been peaceful. There were occasional acts of violence on both sides to champion their respective faiths. Radical Śaivite sects like Kālamukha espoused



the cause of Śaivas and made efforts to wipe out Buddhism.⁸ There is a strong view that the Śaivite temples known as Pañchārāmas were built on the ruins of Buddhist stūpas.⁹ Even in the absence of evidence, we can trace the conflict between the two religions, i.e., the religion of the Buddha and that of non-Buddha, in the period of the Chāḷukyas of Veṅgī, who constructed some of these ārāmas.¹⁰

In support of this presumption, we find some Eastern Chāḷukya coins near Śankaram in the Visakhapatnam District, the Buddhist Centre which was stated to have been disturbed by the Vaishnavites.¹¹ Hindu religious heads like Kumārila and Śankarāchārya openly decried Buddhism. Though this propaganda damaged Buddhism, the Buddha could not at all be wiped out from the Āndhra country. Though there were conflicts and debates between the heads of both the religions, it was believed that Lord Vishnu manifested himself in the form of the Buddha to deceive the asuras. And it is interesting to find this statement in the records of the 12th Century.¹² The popularity of this belief was such that it was noted in the Āndhra Mahābhāṣayata of Bāmmēra Pōtanāmāty of the 15th Century.¹³ Though the Buddha was given a place in the list of avatāras, the worship of the Buddha was noticed in Āndhra only upto 12th Century. In his Karimnagar record¹⁴ dated A.D. 1170 Gaṅgādhara, the minister



of Kākati Rudradēva mentions his installation of god Buddha at Paṭṭasāla with the belief that the Buddha was also one of the incarnations of God Vishṇu. Similarly, there are other inscriptions at places like Bezwada¹⁵ which mention the worship of the Buddha as an avatāra of Vishṇu. Thus the worship of the Buddha continued till about 12th Century A.D.; and after that period we do not find any traces of Buddhism in Āndhra, because the Buddha was included in the pantheon of Vishṇu.

JAINISM

Though Jainism entered Āndhradēśa slightly earlier than Buddhism, it became popular only after the 7th Century A.D and continued till about the 13th Century. It was more predominant in the western parts of Āndhra and it survived for a longer time in the region where the Chālukyas of Vēmūlavāda ruled. The coastal tract which comprised the areas of rule of the Chālukya families of Jananāthapura, Nidadavōlu and Elamañchili, was not influenced by Jainism. In the early period, queens like Ayyanamahādēvī of the Chālukya family of Vēngī, constructed Jaina basadis at places like Bezwada.¹⁶ But in the later period such a patronage was not noticeable. Here and there, rulers like Vimalāditya were stated to have followed Jainism.¹⁷ But such stray cases did not contribute to the development of that religion



in the coastal tract. We do not find even traces of this religion under the minor Chālukya families in Coastal Andhra. But in the Telangāna, the picture was different. The Chālukyas of Vēmulaṽāda and their overlords, the Rāshtrakūṭas, not only followed, but also encouraged Jainism in a large manner. A.S. Altekar observes¹⁸ that at least one-third of the total population of the then Deccan was following the gospel of Mahāvira. But this religion which preached 'Ahimsa', failed to prevent its rulers from offering a dreadful feast to the goddess of death on the battle fields.

According to the Jaina tradition, the first Tīrthankara Rishabha had two sons, Bhārata and Bāhubali.¹⁹ Bāhubali was identical with Gōmata and he established a kingdom with Pōdana as his capital. Pōdana the present Bōdhan in the Nizamabad District, was known to be the earliest capital of the Chālukyas of Vēmulaṽāda. It contains many Jaina antiquities including sculptures and inscriptions. The Deval Masjid at Bōdhan contains pillars bearing Jaina images. It should have been originally a Jaina temple.²⁰ According to one inscription from Śrāvaṇa Belagōla,²¹ there used to be at Bōdhan an image of Bāhubali or Gōmata 525 bows high; and it inspired Chāmuṇḍarāya to make the image of Gōmatēśvara at Śrāvaṇa Belagōla. It was obvious



that the Chālukyas of Vēmulavāḍa made all efforts to propagate Jainism. Vēmulavāḍa contains many Jain relics. More than a dozen images of Tīrthankaras, an image of Gōmaṭa and several Caumukhas have been recovered from Vēmulavāḍa.²² Baddega II constructed a Jain temple 'Śubhadhāmajinālaya'.²³ Arikēsari III seems to have constructed another Jain temple; for, one inscription at Rēpāka dated A.D. 968,²⁴ which records the construction of a Jinālaya by a Chief Śrīmat Vijaya, refers to a temple built by King Arikēsari III. From records and from the extensive ruins found scattered all over the area, we learn that a large section of the population followed Jainism under the Chālukyas of Vēmulavāḍa. Men of intellectual eminence of Jain leanings like Pampa and Sōmadēva received the patronage of those rulers; and probably the kings inspired confidence in the Jains to reestablish their doctrine and to impress it upon the people. Royal patronage, and vigorous propaganda of the Jains could be the causes for the development of that religion in this period.

The Chālukyas of Vēmulavāḍa bestowed liberal patronage on Jainism and Jain writers. It was under them that Jainism in Āndhra enjoyed a glorious career. All the works that were written under their patronage by writers like Pampa and Sōmadēva were Jain works. Baddega built a



Jaina temple named 'Śubhadhāma Jinālaya' and appointed Sōmadēva as the Pontiff. The royal patronage in this area attracted the Jainas of various places of the country. Abhirāmadēva, the father of Pāmpa and a native of Guntur district migrated to those areas under a religious persuasion. According to Vikramāriṇavaliyam he embraced the 'Jinēndradharma', considering it to be the best of all religions. Dravida Sanghas and Gauda Sanghas, which frequently find mention in the records²⁵ of this period were no other than the Sanghas of the Jainas who hailed from those areas. It was during this period that thousands of Jainas were persecuted in the Dravida country which was under the Chōlas,²⁶ and no wonder that there was an exodus of Jainas to the kingdoms in Andhra like those of Vēmula vāḍa, where the interests of the Jainas were safeguarded.

The poets of this age advocated Jainism in their writings. Pāmpa declared in his Ādipurāṇa that he wanted to accomplish 'matadharmā' along with 'Kāvya dharmā' in his writings.²⁷ For writing the Ādipurāṇa, he was praised as 'Purāṇakavi'.²⁸ In it he narrated the story of Vṛishabhanātha, the 23rd Jaina Tīrthankara. In the introductory portion he followed Jaina tradition and praised Arhata, Siddha, Upādhyaya, Ācharya, Sādhu, Yaksha and Sarasvati.²⁹ In his Vikramāriṇavaliyam he went further and effected changes



in the story of the Mahābhārata with a Jaina perspective. In various ways he tried to play down the divine nature of Lord Kṛishna. This he did undoubtedly because of his slant towards Jainism. But in the introductory portions of his poem, he praised Vedic gods like Pañchāyatana daivas, Mīnanātha and Sarasvatī.³⁰ Jinavallabha, a poet and a brother of Pampa, constructed according to his Kurkyāla record, a Jaina temple named 'Tribhuvanatilaka' and installed the figures of the first and the last Tīrthankaras and Chakrēśvari on the hillock Vṛishabhagiri, which is identified with the present Bonmalagutta near Kurkyāla in the Karimnagar district. It is interesting to note that Chakrēśvari and Vṛishabha were praised by Pampa also in his Ādiourāṇa. Jinavallabha constructed there a tank named 'Kavitā guṇārṇava' and raised a garden named 'Madana Vilasam'. He proudly declared that there was none to compare with him in constructing Jinālayas, in worshipping Jaines and in feeding Jinamunis. He was the disciple of Jayangonda Siddhāntadēva of Dēśigagaṇa.

It is believed by some scholars like S. Gopalakrishna Murty³¹ and B.S.L. Hanumantharao,³² that Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishna I appointed some Jaines as his agents in Āndhra after conquering parts of the kingdom of the Chālukyas of Vēngī. The actual invader on Vēngī on behalf of Rāshtrakūṭas was Chālukya Arikēsari I of the Vēmulaṇḍa line and he played a notable



role in framing the Vēngī-malkhed relations. It must have been with his approval, that the Jaina officers entered into the Chālukya court of Vēngī to serve as the agents of the Rāshtrakūṭas. Even though we are not sure about the religion of Arikēsari I, the Kollipara plates state that he was a disciple of a Śivāchārya. These two facts, i.e., his approval of admission of Jaina officers into the Vēngī Chālukya court, and his serving a Śivāchārya show the religious toleration of Arikēsari I. In the contemporary period the Chālukyas of Vēngī also adopted such a liberal policy towards both these religions as could be gathered from a number of records.

After the downfall of the Chālukyas of Vēmūlavāḍa, no Chālukya family followed or encouraged Jainism. Śaivism was predominant in Coastal Andhra; and the local records inform us that the Jainas were persecuted at places like Rajahmundry.³³ Some scholars like B.S.L. Hanumanthareo³⁴ believe that Kākati Gaṇapatidēva also persecuted Jainas in his kingdom. But in the absence of evidence it is difficult to agree with their view. Siddhēśvara Charitra of Kāse Sarvappa informs us of the debate that took place in the Kakatiya court between the Jainas and Tikkana Sōmayāji, the champion of Harihara cult, in which Jainas were defeated. In this period also, the Jainas might have been



persecuted by the radical sects of Śaivism as in the earlier period; but Gaṇapatidēva never seems to have persecuted Jains. He was no doubt a follower of Śaivism, and caused the establishment of Viśvēśvara Gōḷaki in Āndhra. But there is no contemporary evidence to hint at his anti-Jaina feeling. If he followed such a radical step against Jains, he must have been greatly and necessarily praised in the works of Vira Śaiva poets like Pāṅkuriki Somanātha. But no such evidence is found. Moreover, Anumakonda continued to be the centre of the Jains until the downfall of the Kākatiya empire.³⁵ It may be noted that a work called Jinendra Kalyāṇa was written during the rule of Pratāparudra. Hence we can state with certainty that Kākatiya rulers were not anti-Jains. But undoubtedly, the Hindu intellectuals of the day concentrated their efforts to check the exuberance of Jainism. This was the policy which they adopted towards Buddhism some centuries earlier.

Jains also had the fourfold caste system similar to that of the Hindus. From the Kalu Cumbarru grant³⁶ of Anna II of the Eastern Chāḷukyas, we learn that even among the Jaina ascetics, there were four castes. As in the case of the Hindu order, only the first three castes among the Jains were eligible for religious initiation.³⁷



Handiqui observes that the condition of the Jaina Śūdra was in no way better than that of the Hindu Śūdra.³⁸

Jaina writers like Sōmadēva strongly condemned some of the superstitions among the Hindus and Buddhists as stupid practices. They include Sun-worship, bath during eclipses, dānas (gifts) on Sankrānti day, morning and evening ablutions, fire-worship, worship of edifices, ceremonial bath in rivers or in the Sea, adoration of trees and stupas, offering of boiled rice, bowing to the tail of the cow, sipping the urine of the cow, suicide by falling from a precipice, worship of jewels, weapons, earth, yakshas, mountains etc.³⁹ But it is curious that Sōmadēva's patrons were also the worshippers of the Sun; and that Jainism was also not free from at least a few of the above superstitions. Hence we have to consider the works of Sōmadēva as enunciating doctrines of Jainism; and not as reflecting the then practices of the Jainas.

The ritual of worship in the temples and other religious beliefs of the Jainas of the period almost resembled Hindu customs. This similarity extended even to the deities they worshipped. The Jainas worshipped Vināyaka and Sarasvatī whose images closely resembled their Hindu counterparts.⁴⁰



Thus many social customs, religious beliefs and practices were common among the Jainas and Hindus in medieval Āndhra. Such approximation between the two religions produced a spirit of catholicity in the minds of people and they began to look upon all religions as equally sacred. This fact is known from the Bekkalu inscription of a certain Mallireddi.⁴¹ But this was not accomplished in full all over medieval Āndhra; evidence exists in Telangāna of religious conflict that spelt disaster to Jainism. The Panditarādhvacharitra vividly describes the disputations between the Śaivites and the Jainas which led to the defeat of the latter.

Except a few references to the construction of the Jaina temples, there was no evidence that Jainism exerted much influence in northern Āndhra during this period. The solitary example of an inscription dated A.D. 1178 at Bhōgāpuram⁴² in the present Vizianagaram District refers to the construction of a 'Jina-bhavana'.

BRAHMANISM

The religion that claimed universal appeal and flourished in one form or another in medieval Āndhra was Brāhmaṇism. The Chālukyas of Vēṅgī, who were the contemporaries of the early rulers of the Vēmula-vāḍa and Mudigonda families



and predecessors of the remaining Chālukya families in Coastal Āndhra, were the champions of Brāhmaṇism. They described themselves as 'anēkāvabhṛita snātānām'. Some of them took the proud title 'Parama brāhmaṇya'.⁴³ We frequently come across a number of vedic rituals like 'Agnisṭōma', 'Vājapēya' and 'Paundarīka' in the records of the Eastern Chālukya period.⁴⁴ The Kōrumilli plates of Rājarājanarēndra⁴⁵ state that its donee was an expert in setting up 'yūpas' or 'sacrificial posts'. Though this statement involves, superficially, animal sacrifices, the sacrifices became more symbolical by this period as a result of the influence of Jainism. We find this fact borne out in Yasastilaka when it refers to the sacrifice of an artificial cock to goddess Chāṇḍī with the hope of obtaining the merit of offering a live cock.⁴⁶ In spite of these substitution practices in sacrifices people continued to have glamour for Vedic rituals. Viddanāchārya of the period of Induśekhara II of the Niḍadavōlu branch is credited with the performance of several 'Yāgas' including 'Sarvatōmukha' and 'Agnisṭōma'.⁴⁷ In inscriptions we come across names like Sōmayāji,⁴⁸ Vājapēya Sōmayāji⁴⁹ etc. It was during this period that Brāhmaṇism reconciled itself with sectarian religions like Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism. In such circumstances as these, the Purāṇas turned into popular



literature, reconciling the different or divergent elements in society and religion. From about the beginning of the Eastern Chālukya period, we frequently hear about the study of the Itihāsas, Purāṇas and Āgamas from inscriptions.⁵⁰

A number of rulers of these families were compared to Puranic heroes like Dilīpa, Aja, Nala, Nṛīga, Nahūsha, Prithu, Bhagīratha, Dundhumāra, Rāma, Ambarisha and Bharata.⁵¹

Some Puranic stories also find mention in some of the records.⁵²

In the 11th Century a beginning was made to translate Epics and Purāṇas into Telugu, the first attempt being the translation of Mahābhārata by Nannaya, the court poet of Rājarājanarēndra. This was a remarkable change in people's attitude to Brāhmanism. M. Somasekhara Sarma⁵³

and B.S.L. Hanumantha Rao⁵⁴ observe that gradually 'Karmamārga' yielded place to 'Bhaktimārga'. As a consequence, Śiva and Viṣṇu emerged as the greatest gods.

VAISHNAVISM

Vaishnavism entered Āndhra at an early period. The Chālukyas of Vēṅgī, the predecessors of these minor Chālukya families, extended patronage to Vaishnavism, and some of these families followed their policy. In their prasāstis, they proclaim themselves as 'Bhagavannārāyaṇa prasāda samasādita vara varāha lāñchhana' etc. Varāha was



their crest and some of them took the title 'Śrīprithivīvallabha'. This title was probably the application of the theory of Divine right of kings and the concept of 'na Vishṇu Prithivīpatiḥ'.

During the 11th Century, Rāmānujāchārya started a mission to establish Vaishṇavism on the basis of Vēdānta. He reconciled Brāhmanism to Bhāgavatism.⁵⁵ By that time there were three sects among the Vaishṇavites - Vikhānasa, Pāñcharātra and Śrīvaishṇava. Rāmānuja seems to have tried to build up the Śrīvaishṇava system as a bridge between Vaikhānasa and Pāñcharātra.⁵⁶ It appears that he made Tirupati the centre, from which Vaishṇavism spread to the other parts of Āndhra. The gradual shift from Śaivism to Vaishṇavism in the religious inclinations of some of the rulers in northern Āndhra was probably due to the visits and propaganda of Rāmānujāchārya. Prapannāmṛita by Anantāchārya not only notices the visit of Rāmānuja to Śrīkūrmam, but also projects his attempts at converting the rulers of the region to Vaishṇavism.⁵⁷ It was probably owing to his influence that a number of 'Paramamāhēśvaras' like Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga became transformed into 'Parama Vaishṇavas'. The use of Tamil words like 'Tiru', 'Amṛitamani', and 'Tirumanjanam', which occur in the records of this period show how the Southern school of Vaishṇavism influenced these centres. Similarly the introduction of the religious hymns



'Tiruvaymōli' in the rituals of temples of Śrīkūrmam and Bhīmavaram was a proof of Southern influences. The migration of a number of Draviḍa Brāhmaṇas into northern Āndhra during the 12th Century is known from the Piṭhāpuram plates of Vīrachōḍa⁵⁸ and the Mallavaram plates of Parāntaka.⁵⁹ In most of the inscriptions of Śrīkūrmam, we come across the expression 'Tirupati Śrīvaishṇavularaksha'.⁶⁰

Among these Chālukya chiefs, the families at Jananāthapura, Elamañchili, Nidadavōlu and Śrīkūrmam, had leanings towards Vaishṇavism. Some of them bore names like Narasimha, Viṣṇu-wardhana, Upēndra, Rājanārāyaṇa, Śrīdhara, Harinarēndra and Jagannāḍha. Some of the records of these rulers start with salutation to god Viṣṇu.⁶¹ Mallapa III, Vīranarēndra and Udayachandradēva made grants to the temple of Rājanārāyaṇa at Bhīmavaram.⁶² Mallapa III celebrated his coronation ceremony in the Kuntī Mādhava temple of Piṭhāpuram, which is one of the Pañchamādhavas in India.⁶³ On that occasion, he made a devotional offering to Lord Kuntī Mādhava of a village, Guḍivāḍa, in the Prōlu-nāṇḍu tract (together with houses, fields, gardens and inhabitants) after exempting it from all taxes to defray the expenses of maintenance - towards daily worship, offerings to God, oblations and periodical rites, and for monthly and annual festivals.⁶⁴

A number of Vaishṇava temples were constructed during



this period. Simhāchalam and Śrīkūrmam were the famous centre of Vaishnavites. The impressive temple of Lord Narasimha at Simhāchalam was the result of the noble conception of the Gaṅga ruler Narasimha I.⁶⁵ The temple of Kūrmanātha at Śrīkūrmam was originally a temple of Śiva, Pātāla Siddhēśvara;⁶⁶ but it became metamorphosed into a temple of Vishṇu through the missionary zeal of Rāmānujāchārya. Prapannāmṛita refers to this change of the denomination of the temple as having been brought about during the visit of Rāmānuja.⁶⁷ These Vaishnavite centres owed their growth to the keen interest shown by the Chālukyas of Elamañchili and Śrīkūrmam. Viśvēśvaradeva installed the image of Vishṇu with a shrine in Upēndravaraṅgrahāra, the present Upmāka in the Visakhapatnam District.⁶⁸ At Simhāchalam, the same king constructed a 'Garudārōhana-Sthambam' of iron and a 'dhārāmāṇṭapa' which was endowed with some land for maintenance.⁶⁹ Sarpavaram, which is also known as 'Purushōttamapaṭnam' in the East Godavari district, and Pedacherukūru in the Guntur District are famous for the temples of god Bhāvanārāyaṇa, i.e., Lord Vishṇu. An elaborate prasasti of Lord Trivikrama is noticed in the Pedacherukūru record.⁷⁰ Mañchana in his Kēvūrabāhuchari states that 32 Vishṇu temples were constructed during this period at places like Elamañchili and Śrīkūrmam.⁷¹ This huge expansion in the construction of Vaishṇava temples



resulted in the gradual spread of Śrīvaishṇavas in these areas. Mention is made of the guild of 'Śrīvaishṇavas' in the records of Sīmhāchalam, Śrīkūrmam and Bhīmavaram.⁷²

Though we come across the details of offerings by some of these families to Vaishṇavite temples at places like Būrugugaḍḍa⁷³ in the Nalgonda District, and though there are some icons of Vishṇu and the panel of Kshīrasāgarāmathana in the temples of Vemulavāda, it can be said that, in general, Vaishṇavism was not so popular in Telāṅgāna when compared with Coastal Āndhra and Rāyalasīma.

It appears that Muslims concentrated their attacks on Vaishṇavite temples in the later period of these rulers. They were trying to convert the principal Vaishṇavite temples into Masjids. An inscription at Śrīkūrmam dated A.D.1599⁷⁴ mentions the destruction of the temple of Lord Kūrmanātha and the construction of Masjid at that place. They attempted to destroy the temple of Sīmhāchalam also. Though the temple was not destroyed, their attempts interrupted regular worship in the temple of Narasīmhanātha for more than once.⁷⁵ From this it can be said that the attacks of the Muslims effectively checked the spread of Vaishṇavism.

Dvaita System and Narahari Tīrtha:

Dvaita system of Vaishṇavism had its influence on Āndhra



even during the life of its founder Mādhvāchārya (date controversial, either A.D. 1199 or 1230). His disciple was Narahari Tīrtha. The association of Narahari Tīrtha with Āndhra is attested to by several inscriptions from Sīmḥāchalam and Śrīkūrmam. It seems that Narahari Tīrtha made Śrīkūrmam the centre of his religious activities. He had a considerable following in Āndhra and Kalinga.⁷⁶ He built a temple at Śrīkūrmam and installed in it the idol of Yogānanda Narasimha.⁷⁷ From another inscription at the same place, we learn that the images of Rāma, Sita and Lakshmana were also installed by him.⁷⁸

In the same century when Mādhvāchārya and his disciples were trying hard to establish the doctrine of dvaita in Coastal Āndhra, Harapāladeva, otherwise known as Chakradhara, the founder of 'Mahānubhāva pantha' in Mahārāshṭra, propagated the doctrine of dvaita in the areas of Central Āndhra.⁷⁹ While propagating his doctrine, he travelled through Bhaṭṭiprōlu and Warangal and impressed the people with the description of gods and their various avatāras.⁸⁰ Thus during this period Dvaita system gained much popularity in some parts of Āndhra.

ŚAIVISM

This period is a land mark in the history of Śaivism in Āndhra. A large number of Śiva temples were being



constructed in this period. A number of Chālukya rulers bore the title 'Paramamāhēśvara'. Rulers like Vijayāditya II, Chālukya Bhīma and Rājarājanarēndra of the Vēngī Chālukya family were famous as builders of Śiva temples. The Gēṅga rulers and in the later period the Kākatīya rulers also patronised Śaivism and made large endowments to Śiva temples. The large number of Śiva temples and the innumerable inscriptions of offerings found in these Centuries bear testimony to the popularity of Śaivite religion. Some inscriptions started with salutations to Śiva. Rulers like Arikēsari II were compared to Skanda, Īśvara and Sūrya.⁸¹ At Vēmula vāḍa flourished some important Śiva temples like Rājēśvara, Baddegēśva and Nagarēśvara which are still in existence. The temple of Baddegēśvara appears to have changed its name as Bhīmēśvara whereas Rājēśvara and Nagarēśvara continued with the same names. It became customary during this period for rulers as well as for people to build temples dedicated to Lord Śiva in memory of their ancestors or in their own name. A.Vaidehi Krishnamoorthy remarks that one reason for the growth of Śaivism during this period could be the contact with the Chōḷas of Tamilnāḍu.⁸² Vigorous propagation of Śaivism during this period was the main reason for the spread of this religion. Śaiva Gurukulas like Ankuṭa Gurukula and mathas like Viśvēśvara Gōḷaki played a notable role in bringing this religion nearer to the common people.



A majority of the kings of these Chālukya families were the followers of Śaivism; and their tutelary deity was Śiva. Arikēsari I is stated to be a disciple of a Śivāchārya.⁸³ Vēngī Mahadēva,⁸⁴ Malla and Goṅka⁸⁵ stated that they were the devotees of Śrī Mallēśvara of Bezvada. Upēndra III was a devotee of Chīllēśvara Mahadēva of Appikōṇḍa.⁸⁶ Rājanārāyaṇa Koppadēva was a devout worshipper of Koppadēva of Kshīrārāma.⁸⁷ Maṇumōpēndra, Viśvēśvara⁸⁸ and Siṅgarāja⁸⁹ were the devotees of Dharmalingēśvara of Pañchadhārāla. The popular temples of Śiva which received the patronage of these rulers were those of Rājēśvara, Nagarēśvara, Bhīmēśvara, Mahādēva, Sōmēśvara, Tripurāntaka, Chandraśēkhara, Iṣṭakāmēśvara, Ayyanīśvara, Dharmalingēśvara, Dhārālingēśvara, Śivajñānēśvara, Rāmēśvara, Svarṇēśvara, Mallēśvara, Vīrabhadra, Haruṇīśvara, Agastyēśvara, Gundēśvara, and Mārkaṇḍēśvara located in various Śaivite Centres in Āndhra. Women distinguished themselves by making rich offerings to temples. Queens like Pina Udayamahādēvī provided for the maintenance of a thousand lamps for Dīpāvalīmahōtsava and for feeding 1000 Brāhmanas on Śivarātri festival at Pālakollu.⁹⁰

Besides rulers and women of the royal harem, a number of officials in the royal court and common people made offerings to these Śiva temples. Sunkada Preḡgaḍa Guṇāṅkuśa,⁹¹ Nārāyaṇa,⁹² Veṅga Sachiva⁹³ etc. made grants to the temples of Śiva.



Scholars like Viddanācharya⁹⁴ and ministers like Veṅga Sachiva⁹⁵ were described as devout worshippers of Śiva. Viddana was an authority on 'Śaivāgamas' and was almost identified with Śiva. Veṅga Sachiva is described as 'Śaivāgamārtha Varatatvajña', 'Śivaikanishtañchitabhakti bāṇaḥ' etc. Thus we come across staunch followers of Śaivism both among the rulers and the ruled during this period. Pilgrimages to important temples was a common feature both among the kings and the people. In the reign of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, we find nearly all the queens of the emperor accompanying him to Drākṣhārāma and expressing their devotion to Lord Bhīmēśvara by instituting perpetual lamps for the god.⁹⁶ Besides the Līṅga-form, Śiva in various forms like Naṭarāja, Umāsaḥitamūrti, Antakāsuramūrti, etc., are found scattered in the temples of Vemulavāḍa. Kumārasvāmī with six faces, Gaṇapati, Kālabhairava, Vīrabhadra and Nandī etcetra are the 'Parivāradēvatas' found in the Śiva temples of Vemulavāḍa.

Pāśupata and Kālāmukha Sects:

Radical Śaivite sects like the Pāśupatas and Kālāmukhas found welcome in Āndhra and received patronage during the early part of this period. Their militancy probably developed into Vīraśaivism about the close of the Eastern Chāḷukya period. The aggressive militant zeal of these sects was considered



to be largely responsible for the tragic fate that befell Buddhism and Jainism.

The sect of Pāśupatas existed in Āndhra even as early as 7th Century A.D. Terambi near Gwalior was the original pontifical seat of this sect.⁹⁷ The Ēlūru plates of the Eastern Chāḷukya Vishṇuvardhana III of the 8th Century A.D. mention two Śivāchāryas of this sect as the 'Sthānādhipatis' of a Śiva temple; and this is the earliest reference to this sect in Āndhra.⁹⁸ In the later period this sect of Śaivism was strengthened by the Gōlakīmāṭha established by Viśvēśvara-śivāchārya with the encouragement given by the Kākatīyas.⁹⁹ Even now we find the icon of Lakulisa, the champion of the Pāśupata cult, at Bikkavōlu in the East Godavari District.¹⁰⁰

The Kālāmukhas appear to have branched off from the Pāśupatas. Hitherto, scholars thought that the earliest reference to this sect came from the Bezwada plates¹⁰¹ and Tādikonda copper plate inscription of Amma II (A.D. 945-70)¹⁰² in Āndhra. But now the Kollipara plates¹⁰³ of Arikēsari I of the Vēmulavāḍa family are regarded as the earliest evidence of the existence of the Kālāmukhas in Āndhra. Mugdha Śivāchārya, the disciple of Sadyaśśivāchārya who belonged to Ankkuṭagurukula and who received Belmoḡa as a 'Vidyādāna', was described in that record. The devotion of Mugdhaśivāchārya



to Śaivism was highly praised in that record. He was identified as belonging to the Kālāmukha sect. R.N. Nandi observes that Vēmūlavāḍa itself was an important centre of the Kālāmukhas.¹⁰⁴ In the opinion of B.V. Krishnarao,¹⁰⁵ the monasteries at Drākshārāma, Guḍibūḍi, Pālakollu etc. were the Centres of the Kālāmukha sect. Thus these radical sects of Śaivism dominated the sphere of religion for some period in Medieval Āndhra.

Siddhas:

In literature this cult is called as 'Rasayōga'. Pāṅkuriki Sōmanātha in his Rasavapurāṇam describes¹⁰⁶ Śrīśailam as a place of Siddhas, who were accomplished in 'sparsavēdi' or science of alchemy. Gaurana who wrote his Nayanāthacheritra during this period states that this cult was propagated in countries like Malaya, Barbara, Magadha, Āndhra, Pāṇḍya and Chōḷa.¹⁰⁷

Śaktism:

Śaktī worship was also prevalent in this period. The Chāḷukyas described themselves¹⁰⁸ as 'māṭṛigaṇaparipālītānām', i.e., those who were protected by the seven mothers. Panels of Saptamāṭṛikas are found in almost all important temples of this period at places like Vēmūlavāḍa and Drākshārāma. Some of the principal seats of the Śaktī worship in Āndhra,



like the Hunkāriṇī at Pithāpuram, are located in the kingdom of these rulers. It is interesting to note that kings like Rāshtrakūṭa Amoghavarsha I who followed Jainism not only tolerated, but believed in the Śaktī worship. His offering of one of his fingers to the goddess Mahālakshmi in order to extricate his kingdom from an epidemic shows that he worshipped Śaktī also.¹⁰⁹ Śaktī, Śankarī, Durgā, Maṇikyāmbā, Pārvatī, Bālātripura Sundarī, Annapūrnā, Mahishāsūramardanī, Lakshmi, Gaḇalakshmi, Chandikēśvarī, Vārāhī, Brāhmi, Śaradā, etc. were the forms of Śaktī that were worshipped during this period. Even now we find a number of Mahishāsūramardanī figures in the Śiva temples of Vēmulaṇḁḁ and Pañchadhārala. In almost all the villages, the presiding deity is a female goddess and every year there is the celebration of the 'Jātaras' to propitiate her. In the Kridābhiraṇam of early 15th Century, there is a reference to the Goddess Ēkavīra.¹¹⁰ In the grant of villages there is a specific share allotted to the goddess of the concerned village.¹¹¹ The Vaiśyaṇurāṇam mentions the practice of offering 'ballis' to the village goddesses.¹¹² The worship of Śakti is associated with the Tantric cult. During the 'pūja' there was the free use of madya, māmsa, matsya, and maithuna.¹¹³



Vīra Śaivism:

A militant form of Śaivism which swept over the South during 11th, 12th and 13th centuries was Vīra Śaivism. Basavēśvara (A.D.1100-1170) of Kaṛṇāṭaka and Mallikārjuna Paṇḍitārādhyā (A.D.1100-1168) were the chief exponents of Vīra Śaivism. Mallikārjuna was inspired by the teachings of Basavēśvara and dedicated himself to the propagation of Vīra Śaivism in Āndhradēśa.¹¹⁴ He preached that philosophy in his book Śivatatvasāraṃ. From his writings it is distinctly clear that he opposed the Buddhists, the Jainas and the Advaitins.¹¹⁵ He praised Śiva sky high; and according to him Śiva alone should be worshipped in order to attain salvation.¹¹⁶ In condemning the Advaita philosophy he drew a line of distinction between the Jīvātma and the Paramātma.¹¹⁷ Acceptance of the supremacy of Śiva, strong devotion to Him, equality to all to worship, irrespective of caste, creed or sex, condemnation of Vedic rituals etc., might be stated as the salient features of this religion. Though inspired by Basava, Mallikārjuna could not agree with him on the points of Vedic ceremonies and the caste system. He never gave up Brahminhood. He insisted on the wearing of 'Yajñōpavīta' and repetition of the 'Gāyatrī'.¹¹⁸

'Līṅga' occupies the most important place in Vīra Śaivism.¹¹⁹ 'Guru' and 'Jaṅgama' were its other aṅgas.¹²⁰



Usually there are three kinds of 'gurus', Śikshāguru, Dīkshāguru, and Mōkshaguru. Bhavalinga, Prāṇalinga and Ishtalinga were referred to in the Trividhalingasthala of Pāṅkuriki Sōmanātha, who was the biographer of both Basava and Paṇḍitārādhyā.

There is a strong belief among Vīra Śaivites that there are six gradual stages by which a Jīvātma could achieve unification with Para-Śiva. Those stages, which are called 'Shatsthales',¹²¹ are gradually Bhaktasthala, Mahēśvarasthala, Prasādashala, Prāṇalingasthala, Śaranasthala and Aikyasthala. Thus this religion advocates staunch devotion to Śiva and refutes the ritualistic practices.

How Vīra Śaivism affected the then Āndhras is not clear. It is not evidenced in the sources relating to these Chāḷukya families. It does not seem to have enjoyed royal patronage in Āndhra, unlike Kārṇāṭaka. The Basavapurāṇamu and Paṇḍitārādhyācharitra do not describe the work of any of the Vīra Śaiva Votaries in Coastal Āndhra, except Paṇḍita-traya. The advocacy of Vīra Śaivism with minor differences by these teachers in Āndhra, and the enrolling of its members irrespective of their castes would have facilitated the mass appeal of this religion. The miracles performed by Śrīpati Paṇḍita and Mallikārjuna Paṇḍitārādhyā would also have convinced people of the strong devotion of the teachers to Śiva, and



prompted them to profess the new faith. Pāṅkuriki Somanātha's adoption of the 'dvipada' metre as against the traditional 'Vṛitta' metres; and the composition of the 'Śatakas' on Śiva attest the popularity of the religion.

Ārādhyā System:

This may be stated as a branch of Vīra Śaivism. This was popular only among certain sections of the upper classes, particularly Brāhmanas.¹²² This may be stated as a process of Brāhmanising Śaivism. Śrīpatipandita, Mañchana and Mallikārjuna, the famous paṇḍitatraya, were the champions of this system.¹²³ Though Mallikārjuna was stated¹²⁴ to be a native of Drākshārāma during the 12th Century, this movement did not strike root in these areas. Though he had great admiration for Basava, he did not agree with his views on Vedic ceremonies and the caste system. He openly declared that his mission was to reconcile devotionalism and Brāhmanism.¹²⁵ He brought Śaivism very close to the system of the Smārtas.

Harihara Cult:

There was an element of fanaticism in the extreme followers of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism; and there was every danger that a clash between them would lead to religious and social disruption. Toleration became the urgent need



of the times, and in such circumstances Harihara cult emerged as a compromise. It was the cult which emphasised the identity of 'Hari' and 'Hara'. Tikkana, the famous Telugu poet of the 13th Century A.D., was the greatest exponent of the Harihara cult. He strove to establish the essential unity of god and popularised the concept of Hariharanātha.¹²⁶

Sun Worship:

Sun worship was also in vogue during this period. Pandaranga, the Commander-in-Chief of Gunagavijayāditya is stated in his Addanki inscription to have made offerings to god Āditya.¹²⁷ In Vēmūlavāda itself there was a temple of Āditya constructed by Peddana, the 'tantrapāla' of Arikēsari II.¹²⁸ Vyaktalingi was the 'sthānādhīpati' of this temple. Arikēsari II made grants to maintain a choultry and a shed for the distribution of water to the thirsty; and these charities were attached to that temple of Āditya. It may be noted that the Vēmūlavāda inscription of Arikesari II begins with the invocation of the Sun God.¹²⁹

Hanuman Worship:

Worship of Hanuman comes into vogue for the first time during this period. In A.D. 1205 a number of Brāhmaṇas who were devotees of Hanuman, were granted a village Chandravūri



in the Chengūru-nānti-Vishaya.¹³⁰ It is stated that they were the special devotees of an image of Hanuman given to them by Rāma himself and that they settled in the agrahāra of Māshāpuri on the western bank of the Gōdāvarī.

THE TEMPLE

The temple was religious institution, as it is today, which exercised its influence in strengthening the purity of life and character of the people. It promoted some of the traditional arts and crafts and helped to elevate the aesthetic taste of the common people. These temples were maintained by royal as well as public patronage. Some communal groups also maintained temples in the name of their tutelary deities. The temples of Nagarēśvara and in later times the temple of Kanyakāparamēśvari of the Vaiśyas belong to this category.

During this period, the temple played an important role in the general life of the people. It owned large landed estates and bulk of cattle. These lands and cattle were gifted by the devotees to the deity. The different types of devotional grants made to the important temples at places like Drākshārāma, Bhīmavaram, Simhāchalam and Śrīkūrmam strike as amazing. To administer such a huge property of land, cattle and similar other productive gifts,



there was imperative need for an organised service in the temples. To meet this need, temples used to maintain a large staff of servants whose status as well as wages varied from one category to another. We come across the following designations of the staff in the temple records of the ruling families:

Sthānādhipati,¹³¹ Bhaṇḍārī,¹³² Bhōgaparīkshādhikārī,¹³³ Śrīkaraṇamu,¹³⁴ Kōṣṭha Karaṇamu,¹³⁵ Ācharya¹³⁶ etc. Besides them Brāhmanas, either Śaivites or Vaiṣṇavites, male and female servants, cooks, carpenters, smiths, potters, dancers, musicians, vocal and instrumental, pauranikas, astrologers, suppliers of various goods like fire-wood, flowers, etc. attended to their respective duties in the activities of the temples. It seems that posts like 'Sthānādhipati' were common in the administration of both Jaina and Hindu temples. Sōmadēvasūri¹³⁷ is referred to as the Sthānādhipati in Śubhadhāma-jinālaya at Vēmula-vāḍa in the period of Baddega II and Arikēsari III. In the period of Arikēsari II, it is known that Mallikārjuna, Vyaktiṅgi, Vidyārāśi, and Vyākhyānibhattāraka were the Sthānādhipatis of the four principal temples Rājēśvara, Ādityagṛiha, Baddegēśvara and Nagarēśvara respectively at Vēmula-vāḍa.¹³⁸ The Sthānādhipati was responsible for the overall administration of the temple and also for proper implementation of the conditions of



endowments and for the regular worship of the deity. The office of 'Bhōgaparīksha' was instituted in the Later Eastern Gāṅga period,¹³⁹ the officer being in over all charge of the affairs of some temples like Simhāchalam and Śrīkūrmam. The officer was appointed by the king and he must have supervised the proper utilisation of temple funds and taken measures against misappropriation and fraud. It was probably in this way that the king exercised control over the temple funds etc. The records of this period enable us to know more details about the administration of Viṣṇu temples than of Śiva temples. The number of bhōgas in the Vaishṇava temples is comparatively larger than those in Śiva temples; and hence the number as well as cadres of officers in the Vaishṇava temples is accordingly higher. Sūristhānas,¹⁴⁰ Mahājanas,¹⁴¹ Śrīvaishṇavas,¹⁴² Nibandhakāras,¹⁴³ Sānimannūrvuru,¹ Ūrināyakulu¹⁴⁵ etc. were the guilds that possessed supervisory authority over the temple administration. From the inscriptions at places like Juttiga,¹⁴⁶ Pedakaḷḷēpalli¹⁴⁷ and Vēlpūru¹⁴⁸ it can be understood that the duty of these guilds was to check and supervise the maintenance of gifts and their utilisation at the temples.

We do not come across any references to the salaries of the higher officials. But it seems they were paid in cash or were given gifts of land. At the lower level payment was made



in kind also.¹⁴⁹ Shift system while rendering services was in vogue,¹⁵⁰ and some of the servants received only consolidated pay.¹⁵¹ Some were appointed with a condition that they would have food for their wage.¹⁵² In most of the cases these posts were hereditary.¹⁵³ Handling of Divyakōla, heating of milk, taking the cattle for grazing etc. were their routine duties. Interestingly, one inscription from Bhīmavaram¹⁵⁴ records the scale of payments to the temple servants in the following manner:

Post Held	SALARY DRAWN	
	In cash (probably per year)	In kind (rice) per day
1.	2.	3.
Tiruvārādhana sēyu Brāhmaṇuḍu	4 māḍas	5 measures
Divve yettu Brāhmaṇuḍu	1 māḍa	3 measures
Āmudavandu Brāhmaṇuḍu	-do-	-do-
Tirugāra Kārchana sēyu Brāhmaṇuḍu	-do-	-do-
Pātra Tōmedi Brāhmaṇuḍu	-do-	-do-
Tiruvamudi Vijyāpana sēyu vāḍu	3 māḍas	4 measures
-do-	3 māḍas + 5 chinnālu	3 measures
Tiruvamudi Vijyāpana sēyu vāḍu	3 māḍas	3 measures

contd....



1.	2.	3.
Svasti sēvalavāru (34 persons)	1 chinnā each	4 measures each
Nandavanamu chēyuvāru (2 persons)	3 māḍas each	5 measures each
Śrī Vaishṇava grāsa sēyu vāru	3 māḍas	4 measures
Śankhuvāchedivāru	Inscription damaged	Inscription damaged
Madde lavāḍu	-do-	-do-
Potter	5 chinnās	-do-
Vaishṇavulu	Inscription damaged	Inscription damaged
Āchāryulu		
Brass Smith		

In Śrīkūrmam also, a similar type of fixation of emoluments to the temple servants is stated in a record dated A.D. 1250.¹⁵⁵ This is stated as a 'Vyavastha' in that temple. According to it, the servants were paid in cash as well as in kind as shown below:

POST	SALARY				
	Māḍas (per year)	Chinnālu (per year)	Rice in measures (per day)	Appālu (per month)	Tāmbūlam (per day)
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
Suppliers of Tirumañjana, Chandana, Pushpa etc.	4	7½	-	-	-



contd...

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
Sampradāya Naṭṭuvu	4	8	4	4	1
Mokhāri	3	-	2½	4	1
Maddelavāru, and other musicians (total = 6)	-	-	42 puttis 3 per year + 2 measu- res per day		½
Sampradāya sārulu	-	-	42 puttis 3 per year		2

From this it is evident that the payments to these temple servants differed from place to place and they mostly depend upon the financial resources of the temple concerned.

People made grants on the occasions of festivals, eclipses, solstices etc., with the intention of getting wealth, of longevity, or for acquiring merit for themselves or their relatives.¹⁵⁶ Occasionally, these grants were made for the merit of the king.¹⁵⁷ All these gifts were exempted from all sorts of taxes in normal conditions.¹⁵⁸ But on rare occasions, kings taxed the lands offered to the temples also. Arikēsari II levied twelve dramas as the tax 'Siddhāya' on the land offered to Ādityagriha in Vēmulaṇḍa.¹⁵⁹



The grants and endowments made to the various temples under these rulers may be classified into three divisions.

- i) Grants for the upkeep of lamps.
 - ii) Provision made for the maintenance of different bhōgas.
 - iii) Gifts of ornaments and utensils.
- 1) Grants for the Upkeep of Lamps:

A majority of inscriptions of this period under study record the offering of lamps. These gifts were of various types. Some donors paid cash; some gifted cattle; some others granted land for the upkeep of those lamps. These three types of grants were made with the stipulation that the lamps should be lit in a specified temple. For example, in A.D. 1279 Lakshmidēvī, the queen of Vīragoṭṭa Narasimharāju, granted 50 gaṇḍamādas for the upkeep of two lamps in the temple of Śrīkūrmēśa.¹⁶⁰ In A.D. 1218, Sūdapanāyaka, a servant of Vishṇuvardhana Mallapa, gifted 120 he-buffaloes to provide for the upkeep of two lamps in the temple of Bhīmēśvara of Drākshārāma.¹⁶¹ In A.D. 1176 Vishṇuvardhana Mallapa donated 12 puttis of land for the maintenance of a lamp in the temple of god Rājanārāyaṇa of Bhīmavaram.¹⁶² While cash was remitted in the temple treasury, the cattle were entrusted to either bōyas or others who should rear them and supply the required ghee, which was normally one mānika,



to the said temple in which the lamp was to be maintained. In A.D. 1154 Sōmaladēvi, the wife of Ballādinātha made over 5 Kulōttunga Chōda mādas to some persons for the upkeep of a lamp in the Nāgēśvara temple at Pedakallēpalli.¹⁶³ In A.D. 1201 one Bhīmāndi Śetti offered a lamp to Bhāvanārāyaṇa of Sarpavaram and kept 50 he-buffaloes under the charge of Eriyabōya with a condition that he should supply ghee at the rate of 'Sāniyambātimānika' per day to maintain the lamp in the temple.¹⁶⁴ A record from Bhīmavaram informs us that 25 he-buffaloes had to be gifted for supplying ghee measuring 'Sāniyambāti Tavva' per day for the upkeep of half a lamp.¹⁶⁵ Thus the proportion of the supply of ghee depended upon the number of cattle granted.¹⁶⁶ In some records it is stated that those persons, under whose charge the cattle were kept were to supply ghee to the temples, and they were provided with lands for their livelihood. In A.D. 1297 Prithivīvallabha kept 50 cows under the charge of a bōya to supply ghee for the upkeep of lamp in the temple of Agastyēśvara of Mallipūdi. For the maintenance of that bōya, some land was also allotted.¹⁶⁷ Besides the above types, there were grants where incomes in Pullari and sales etc. were assigned for the maintenance of lamps in the temples. At Pasavēmula in the Palnad taluq of Guntur District, Viṣṇuvardhana and Rudradēva jointly granted the



income on pullari on a particular land to a temple.¹⁶⁸

References to the assignment of shares in the profit derived from tolls and sales were also noticed in some records.¹⁶⁹

ii) Provision Made for the Maintenance of Different Bhogas:

In the worship of the deity of any temple, performance of bhōga is an important rite and the records of this period refer to a number of provisions made to those temples to maintain such bhōgas to the deities. Dīpa, dhūpa, archana, Tirugārakārchana, Tirumañjana, Madhyānna sejjabhōga, Tōmālasēva, Singing of Tiruvayamōli, naivēdya, abhishēka, ānga, rānga, amṛitamāṇi, Svastisēvalu, Viñjāmara etc. are the general rituals in the worship of the deities in the temples. The varieties of archanās and sēvās in the Vaishṇava temples are generally more than those in the Śiva temples.

Besides daily rituals there were special festivals for every fortnight, month and year. In the Piṭhāpuram pillar inscription it is said that Mallapa III made provision for the observance of such festivals.¹⁷⁰ Nṛsiṃhājayanti in Sindhāchalam¹⁷¹ and Dīpāvali in Pālakollu¹⁷² were the special annual festivals. Special bhōgas like 'Sṛingārabhōga' or 'Viśvanāthabhōga' were also introduced¹⁷³ in temples like Śrīkūrmam by these Chālukya rulers. Generally, cash



or land was given for the maintenance of a particular bhōga. If the grant was cash, the allotment was subject to periodical revision, owing to the difference in the cost of various articles that were used for the preparation of such bhōgas. If the grant was for a Naivēdya or prasāda, the names of various commodities and the ratio in which they were to be used, for its preparation were clearly stated. If the grant was land it could be wet, dry or garden land. In A.D. 1391 Chōḍagaṅga granted 2 puttis of Jalakshētra near Upmāka for the maintenance of various bhōgas to God Narasimhanātha.¹⁷⁴ In A.D. 1087 one Vishnuvardhana offered some land along with 1000 trees to the temple of Bhīmēśvara at Drākshārāma.¹⁷⁶ Grant of villages, as a whole, for the maintenance of temples was also in practice. In A.D. 1202 Vishnuvardhana Mallapa granted a whole village named Guḍivāḍa, in the present East Godavari district to the temple of god Kuntī Mādhava of Pithāpuram.¹⁷⁶ Occasionally, lands and villages were purchased by the rulers from the local people for granting them to the temples. In A.D. 1346 Lakumarāja of Vīragotta purchased a garden and granted it to the temple of Lord Narasimhanātha of Simhāchalam.¹⁷⁷ In A.D. 1525 Sarvarājamahāpātra purchased the entire village of Uttarāpalli in the present Vizianagaram District and made it over to the temple of the same deity.¹⁷⁸



In addition to the daily bhōgas, there were some special bhōgas for which grants were made to the temples at different places. King Viśvanātha introduced a new bhōga, named after him as 'Viśvanāthabhōga' otherwise known as 'Sṛiṅgārabhōga', and made provision for its maintenance in the temple of Śrīkūrmēśa.¹⁷⁹ Udayamahādēvī granted lands for the upkeep of 1000 lamps, and for feeding 1000 Brāhmaṇas on the occasion of Dīpāvalī festival in the temple of Kshīrārāma.¹⁸⁰ For the maintenance of Śanivāramahōtsavas in the same temple Koppa-Rājanārāyaṇa granted some land.¹⁸¹ Purushōttama-nāyaka presented two gandamādas for the maintenance of a special bhōga on the night of Nṛsiṃhajāyanti in Siṃhāchalam.¹⁸² Siṅgarāja Mahāpātra granted land for the observance of the annual festival Rathōtsava of Dharma-liṅgēśvara of Pañchadhārāla.¹⁸³ Thus there are innumerable evidences about grants for the maintenance of different bhōgas at different temples.

iii) Gifts of Ornaments and Articles:

There are references in inscriptions to the presentation of ornaments and precious articles for the adornment of the deity. As the deity would be decorated on festive occasions, there was every necessity of keeping ornaments in the Bhaṇḍāra of the temple. A certain Rāpartī Mangirāja granted 21 gold bells and 100 silver flowers for the



decoration of Nandīśvara in the temple of Bhīmēśvara at Drākshārāma.¹⁸⁴ Chōḍagaṅga presented 'Māḷalārubhadra' and 'Tiruvāḷika kōla' to Lord Narasimhanātha of Simhāchalam.¹⁸⁵ Vīrāmbikā offered 'Pañchavaktrakōḷi' made of gold to Dharmalingēśvara of Pañchadhārāla.¹⁸⁶ Nārāyaṇamantri presented a golden pinnacle to the temple of Nārāyaṇēśa at Telikicherla.¹⁸⁷ Grant of flower gardens to temples was also in vogue.¹⁸⁸

Temple establishment requires various types of vessels and utensils for the maintenance of bhōgas and for preparing Naivēdya or prasāda. In view of this need some of the devotees presented such utensils to the temples. In A.D. 1238, Appasānī, the wife of Anantapreggaḍa, presented a number of vessels of different metals to god Vēṅgīśvara Mahādēva of Dendulūru. They include Suvarṇamēkhala, Paḷḷeras, Adḍena, Kilapukōra, Chaṭṭugamu, Chimpamunta, Dhavaḷa Śankhamu, Jayaghaṇṭa, Dhūpa ghaṇṭa, Dhūpapātra, Dīapapātra, Kaṁsatālapu tōlu, Chitṭa tālaputōlu, Kaṇḍyakōla and Kañchu Nandi.¹⁸⁹



Art:

The aesthetic taste of the Chālukyas is represented by the remnants of their constructions at various places, particular among them being the temples at Vēmūlavāḍa and Pañchadhārāla. Temples of Rājēśvara, Baddegēśvara, Nagarēśvara and Ādityagṛiha in Vēmūlavāḍa, and of Dharmalingēśvara at Pañchadhārāla are referred to in their records.¹⁹⁰ As these minor Chālukyas ruled at different places of Āndhradēśa at different periods, we cannot exactly trace any particular style of their own in the fields of architecture and sculpture. Changes in social, religious and political arenas might have prompted them to accept and adopt different predominant styles. The monuments now seen at Vēmūlavāḍa and Pañchadhārāla should not be mistaken as the original structures of those Chālukyas. There are inscriptional reference either about their renovation or reconstruction which was undertaken by others in the succeeding centuries. Rājāditya, Commander-General of the Western Chālukyas is stated to have consecrated in the eleventh century, the liṅga in the Rājēśvara temple.¹⁹¹ It was originally supposed to have constructed by Narasiṃha I (who bore the title Rājāditya) of the Vēmūlavāḍa family.¹⁹² Similarly in Pañchadhārāla the renovation of the Dharmalingēśvara temple was made by a certain Chennāpreḡḡaḍa Chenna Kavirāja Kalahaṃsa in the



fifteenth century.¹⁹³ Thus the inscriptions themselves offer clues to point out that the present monuments at those centres were not the original structures erected by the Chālukyas. But the various sculptures and mantapas found in those centres seem to be in situ and should be attributed to those rulers. Moreover temples like the Baddegēśvara temple (the present Bhīmēśvara temple) which is supposed to have been constructed by Baddega I, were undisturbed and are still in a comparatively good state of preservation.

At the very outset, one would be struck by the number of loose icons of both Jaina and Hindu pantheons, scattered in the various temples at Vemulavāda. At present it looks like a religious complex, though the representation of Buddhism is comparatively less. In the period of the Chālukyas of Vemulavāda, equal treatment was shown to both Jaina and Hindu religions. Even before the construction of Śubhadhāma Jinālaya by Baddega II, there are evidences of the existence of Śiva temples at Vemulavāda.

Let us first study the Jaina images at Vemulavāda. Except the reference¹⁹⁴ to the construction of Śubhadhāma Jinālaya by Baddega II, there are no traces of temple of Jina at Vemulavāda. We are not able to fix up the place



even, where it would have stood. But we come across a number of images of Pārśvanātha, Gōmata, other tīrthankaras and Chaumukhas at various spots (and some being dumped into a garden nearby the tank Dharmagundam) in Vēmūlavāḍa. They suggest the extensive glory of Jainism under the patronage of those Chālukyas.

The inscription of Baddega II,¹⁹⁵ which mentions his construction of Śubhadhāma Jinālaya is written on a pedestal of the image of Pārśvanātha. The figure of Pārśvanātha is full-sized and of red sand-stone, and has a fine five-hooded serpent above the head. The face of the tīrthankara does not express any concentration; but the standing pose of this is perhaps the best aspect. In addition to this, there are five figures of Pārśvanātha, three of Vardhamāna, one of Gōmatēśvara and four of other tīrthankaras. The sitting figures of Pārśvanātha and other tīrthankaras are highly stable and are quite at ease. S. Gopalakrishna Murty observes¹⁹⁶ that those images were modelled in accordance with the figures of Nēminātha in Malkhed. If it were so, we may say that these Chālukyas of Vēmūlavāḍa, who were subordinates of the Rāshtrakūṭas, followed the religion and art of their masters. But the use of yabnīsha for Mahāvīra makes it difficult sometimes to distinguish him Buddha.



One interesting image to be noted in this connection is the image of Gōmatēśvara at Vēmūlavāḍa. As stated by Gopalakrishna Murty,¹⁹⁷ among all the figures available there, this image of Gōmatēśvara alone has enough serenity and concentration. This Gōmatēśvara at Vēmūlavāḍa indicates the influence the Gōmata image of Bodhan, the earlier capital of the Vēmūlavāḍa chiefs; and also illustrates the richness of the Jain pantheon in Vēmūlavāḍa. The predominance of the standing postures (Kayōtsarga) in the figures here is also probably the influence of the Gōmata figure in their early capital. Thus it seems the Jaina sculpture of the age was much influenced by the styles that flourished in Bodhan. Not only at Vēmūlavāḍa, this type of adoption of the style of Bodhan can be seen in most of the other famous Jaina centres like Śrāvāṇa Belgōla. While dealing with the influence of Jainism in Āndhradēśa, it has already been noticed how Chāmūṇḍarāya got inspiration from the Gōmata figure of Bodhan and thus to erect the similar huge image at Śrāvāṇa Belgōla. The record from Śrāvāṇa Belgōla reveals¹⁹⁸ the fact that the figure of Gōmata there was only due to the inspiration given by the huge image of Bodhan. The epigraphical evidence contradicts the statement of C. Sivarama Murti¹⁹⁹ that "this craze for huge monoliths on the main land" was nothing but the influence of the carvings from Ceylon.



The other important figures of Jaina pantheon in Vēmūlavāḍa are the Chaumukhas or Chauviśatīrthankaras. The figure of Chaumukha was used exclusively for the abhishēka festival, when it was mounted on a nānavatta. Chauviśatīrthankara or the stone showing 24 tīrthankaras is modelled on the same lines. Interestingly it is shaped as a specimen of temple and reflects the then Jaina sculptor's imagination. The temple has two stories above the 'ground floor' with the Śikhara which is of the South Indian type. On the three floors in their centres are found seated Jinas accompanied with attendants and chauri-bearers. These Chauviśatīrthankara temples of Vēmūlavāḍa are, according to Gopalakrishnamurti, unique of such type and nowhere found in the entire South India.²⁰⁰ They combine the Buddhist and Hindu habit of setting up votive stūpas and temples round a bigger shrine, with the Jaina concept of the Sarvatōbhadrika.

The construction of Jaina temples by these rulers was not limited to their capital Vēmūlavāḍa alone. Arikēsari III is known²⁰¹ to have constructed a Jinālaya at Rēpāka, which is in the Karimnagar District. Jinavallabha, the brother of Pampa is stated²⁰² to have carved the images of Ādyanta Jainas, Chakrēśvari and other Jaina deities on the Siddhaśila, the present Bommalaḡutta, near Gaṅgādhara in the same district. He supplemented it with a basadi by name Tribhuvana-tilaka and with the tank called Kavitāḡunārṇava.



He boasted of himself as one unexcelled in the construction of Jaina temples.

Now let us turn towards the Hindu temples and maṇṭapas constructed by these rulers. As already noted this is a period of revival of Brāhmanism with its various divisions, there is no wonder to see the excessive number of constructions of the Śaiva faith in this period. The famous temples and the important deities worshipped are already noted in the chapter of Religion. The existence of Śiva temples at Vēmulaṇḍa, during the period of Arikēsari II (A.D.932) is known. But only the Baddegēśvara temple is comparatively in a good state of preservation. Similarly at Pañchadhāra, the temple of Dharmalingēśvara is almost in a state of dilapidation; but its various maṇṭapas, which were originally constructed during the period of Chāḷukyas of Elamañchili stand as a witness to the building activity of those rulers. But they are already in a state of decay, and we cannot easily trace the architectural styles that flourished then. Probably the Chiefs of Vēmulaṇḍa might have been influenced by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa styles, whereas the rulers of Elamañchili might have followed the styles current in the Eastern Gaṅga period. But when compared to the Dharmalingēśvara temple of Pañchadhāra, the Baddegēśvara temple of Vēmulaṇḍa is undoubtedly worthy in architectural and sculptural spheres.



Rājēśvara, Baddegēśvara, Ādityagriha and Nagarēśvara were the flourishing temples of Śiva in Vēmūlavāda during the period under study.²⁰³ The temple of Rājēśvara which is supposed to have been constructed by Narasimha I (entitled Rājāditya) is completely renovated and is still being renovated. In the hundreds of images of various deities and dozens of shrines erected all over the temple, one cannot trace the originals that were the work of those Chālukyas. Virabhadra, Bhairava, Ganapati, Nandi, Liṅga and Pānavatṭa, Pañchamukha Sadāśiva, Mahishāsura-mardani, Bālātripurasundarī, Natarāja, Gaṅgādharamūrti, Andhakāsuremūrti, Kumārasvāmī etc. are the icons that are found in the niches of this temple. Nagarēśvara temple which is supposed to have been constructed by the guild of Vaisya is architecturally and sculpturally deficient except a row of swans in frontal and back sides of the temple.

The Baddegēśvara temple seems to have been erected by Baddega I or Sōladagaṇḍa Baddega. The śikhara is no doubt not the original one; and the high platform before the mukhamantapa suggests the existence of another mantapa at that place; but interestingly to the student of History, the main temple is not disturbed. Its adhishtāna mouldings present us with some hundreds of carved figures which remind the cultural wealth of the temple. Around the foundations of the temple there are figures of ladies,



Jinas, Natarāja, elephants, horse-riders, musicians, horse and chariot riders, warriors, nude figures, dancers and drummers, Gaṇeśa, deer etc. The stories of the Pāñchatantra like the two swans and the tortoise; monkey and the crocodile are clearly depicted in those adhishtāna mouldings.

In carving the panel of Daśavatāras, only 9 avatāras were carved. Matsya, Kūrma, Varāha, Narasimha, Vāmana (accompanied with Bali and Śukra), Parasurama, Śrīrama, Buddha and Kalki were depicted, leaving the figure of Balarāma. Though this is a Śiva temple, Vishnu figures including Śrīdēvī and Bhūdēvī, the figures of other religions like the Mahābhinishkramaṇa of Buddha and other secular figures like the lady taking her bath, cultivator driving his bull etc. also find place in the panels. The carving of figures in the adhishtāna mouldings happens to be the style of both Chālukyas of Vengi and Rāshtrakūṭas. The Chālukyas of Vemulavāda seem to have adopted the same style. Not only this, they adopted the model of Koṣṭapañjara which was generally used in the Rāshtrakūṭa style. On the back wall of the temple of Kedāresvara at Vemulavāda, the figure of a female playing on Vīṇa (probably Sarasvatī) is carved in a Koṣṭapañjara.

The Vemulavāda record of Arikēsari II states²⁰⁴ that his tantrapāla Nāgamayya constructed a Satra appended to Ādityagriha, the existence of which is not now found.



But probably, one of the mantapas which were now used to shelter the cattle of the Rājēśvara temple was the Sātra constructed by Nāgamayya.

Regarding the building activity of other families nothing is known about them except a reference to their constructions of temples. Niravadya of the Mudigonda family seems to have constructed a temple to Bhīmēśa at Koravi.²⁰⁵ Viddanadikshita, the guru of Indusēkhara II of the Nidadavōlu family installed²⁰⁶ Śiva Jñānēśvara at Bhīmavallabhapura which is yet to be identified. Similarly the ministers Veṅga and Nārāyaṇa who served the same family built temples at Dendulūru and Telikicherla.²⁰⁷ Viśvēśvaradēva of the Elamañchili family is stated²⁰⁸ to have erected a shrine to god Viṣṇu at Upēndravara, the present Umāka in the Visakhapatnam district. Thus extensive activity of temple building was undertaken by these families.

Mantapas, Gōpuras and Prākāras form the important items of the temple and it is noticed that a number of them were constructed by these rulers. Minister Nārāyaṇa constructed gōpura, mantapa and prākara to the temple of Nārāyaṇēśa at Telikicherla.²⁰⁹ A certain bhandāri of the Nidadavōlu Chālukyas erected Karavāla Bhairava mantapa in the Vāsuki Ravi Sōmēśvara temple of Juttiṇa.²¹⁰ Koppe Rājanārāyaṇa constructed Śaṇivāra-mantapa in the Kshīrārāma



temple at Pālakolliu.²¹¹ The rulers of Elamāñchili contributed much to the growth of the Dharmalingēśvara temple at Pañchadhārāla. King Viśvēśvaradēva constructed Kalyāṇa-mantapa for the annual celebrations of the Kalyāṇamahōtsava of Dharmalingēśvara.²¹² It is described in the record that that mantapa was very magnificent and grand. Interestingly in the nāṭya-mantapa of the temple, there are some Gajavyāla-base pillars which can be seen in the temple of Simhāchalam. It is on one of the pillars of that mantapa the emblem of this family 'Varāha' is carved. Vīramadēvi, the queen of Nṛsimhadēva seems to have shown much interest for this temple. She undertook a number of constructions like āntarāla-mantapa, western gōpura, and mahānasaorīha to magnify the glory of the temple.²¹³ In the same temple, rulers like Kumāra Errāma, Śrīdhara and Harinarēndra also made²¹⁴ new additions like gōpuras and prākāras among which some are now seen in a state of decay.



REFERENCES

1. Buddhist Remains in Andhra, p.30, Note 1.
2. Religion in Andhra, p.127.
3. Ibid., p.126.
4. Ibid., p.128.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. A monograph on Eleavaram Excavations, pl. XXIX.
8. Religion in Andhra, p.130.
9. Ibid.
10. Bhāratī, Jan., 1968, p.3.
11. Archaeological Survey reports, 1907-08, p.165.
12. Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Karimnagar District, p.69.
13. Āndhra Mahā Bhāgavata, Skanda I, Verse, 63.
14. Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Karimnagar District, No.25.
15. S.I.I., Vol. IV, No.749.
16. The Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi, p.63.
17. Ibid., p.216.
18. The Rāshtrakūtas and Their Times, p.313.
19. Religion in Āndhra, p.143.
20. Jainism in South India, p.102.
21. Epi. Carnatica, Vol. II, No.234.
22. Jaina Vestiges in Andhra, plates XI and XII.
23. Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Karimnagar District, No.4.
24. Ibid., No.5.



25. Ibid., No.4; and Kannada Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Nos.33, and 36.
26. The Chōlas, p.656.
27. Bhāratī, July, 1958, p.33.
28. Ibid.
29. Telugu Kavvāvatārikalu, p.39.
30. Ibid., p.39. In this connection, it is important to give a brief account of the 'samādhi' of Pampa. Scholars like Sitarama Jagirdar identified Subhanandi, a disciple of Dēvēndra Siddhānta Munīśvara, who attained Samādhi at Bōdhen with Pampa. (Epi. Andhrīca, Vol. II, p.31) N. Venkataramanayya also admits this identity. (A.R.E., No.170 of 1966). Though the Adipurāna states (Chapter 16, stanza, 35) 'Subha' as the other name of Pampa, evidence is not sufficient to accept this identification. The other Kannada writers like Ranna state that Pampa had actually put the Jaina principles into practice in his daily life. But nowhere do they mention the 'sanyāsa' and 'samādhi' of Pampa.
31. Jaina Vestiges in Andhra, p.39.
32. Religion in Āndhra, p.169.
33. Orucallu Kaifiyat, L.R. Vol. XI, p.133 as cited in Religion in Andhra, p.173.
34. Religion in Āndhra, p.172.
35. Ibid.
36. E.I., Vol. VII, p.177.
37. Yasastilaka and Indian Culture, p.331.
38. Ibid., p.332.
39. Ibid., p.253.
40. Religion in Āndhra, p.179.
41. Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Warangal District, p.50.



42. S.I.I., Vol. X, No.710.
43. E.I., Vol. VIII, p.236; XII, p.61; XVIII, p.55.
44. I.A., Vol. VII, p.91.
45. Ibid., Vol. XIV, p.48.
46. Yasastilaka and Indian Culture, p.126.
47. Bhārati, June, 1976, p.20.
48. S.I.I., Vol. IV, No.927.
49. A.R.E., No.60 of 1941-42.
50. J.A.H.R.S., Vol. V, p.101.
51. Bhārati, Aug., 1930, p.297; Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Karimnagar District, No.2; Bhārati, Jan., 1968, p.3.
52. S.I.I., Vol. VI, No.202.
53. Telugu Samskriti, Vol. III (of Telugu Vijnana Sarvasvam), p.224.
54. Religion in Andhra, p.207.
55. Ibid., p.254.
56. Ibid., p.255.
57. Administration and Social Life under the Later Eastern Gangas and Suryavamsi Gajapatis, p.331.
58. E.I., Vol. V, p.70 ff.
59. Studies in Medieval Deccan History, p.79, ff.
60. S.I.I., Vol. V, Nos. 1164, 1165, 1166, etc.
61. S.I.I., Vol. IV, No.736; S.I.I., Vol. V, No.122, etc.
62. Rājanārāyaṇa temple of Bhīmavaram (present Samalkot in the East Godavari District) was constructed by a Vaisya Maṇḍaya in the name of Rājanārāyaṇa, the title of Kulōttunga I (S.I.I., Vol. I, p.59.).



63. E.I., Vol. IV, p.226. Pañchamādhavas in India are - Bindu Mādhava of Kāśī, Venī Mādhava of Prayāga, Sundara Mādhava of Padmanābham, Setu Mādhava of Rāmēśvaram and Kuntī Mādhava of Pithāpuram. (Saṅgraha Andhra Vidyāna Kōśamu, Vol. IV, p.691).
64. E.I., Vol. IV, p.226.
65. The Simhachalam Temple, p.72.
66. Śrīkakulam Zilla Charitra, p.101.
67. Administration and Social Life under the Later Eastern Gangas and Suryavamsi Gaṇapatis, p.343. Probably it is due to such changes in the later period, the main deity in the temple of Śrīkūrmam is found not in Centre of the garbhagriha, but on the Southern side.
68. S.I.I., Vol. VI, No.665.
69. Ibid., No.1002. K. Sundaram identified that maṇṭapa with the present kitchen, which has been situated evidently to take advantage of the natural spring which brings-forth water in a continuous flow. (The Simhachalam Temple, p.77).
70. S.I.I., Vol. VI, No.202.
71. Kāvurabāhucharitra, Aśvāsa I, Verse, 26.
72. S.I.I., Vol. VI, No.1002; V, Nos. 70, 1214, etc.
73. C.T.I., Vol. II, No.21.
74. S.I.I., Vol.V, No.1312.
75. Ibid., Vol. VI, No.1184.
76. This Naraharītīrtha is stated to have protected the people of Kaṭiṅga and defended Śrīkūrmam from an attack of the wild Śabarās (History of Orissa, p.270).
77. E.I., Vol. VI, p.260.
78. S.I.I., Vol. V, Nos. 1172, and 1203.
79. Dakṣiṇa Bhārata Sāhityamulu, p.168.
80. Ibid.



81. Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Karimnagar District, No.2..
82. Social and Economic Conditions in Eastern Deccan, p.195.
83. Bhāratī, Aug., 1930, p.297.
84. S.I.I., Vol. IV, No.735.
85. Ibid., No.736.
86. A.R.E., No.1 of 1941-42.
87. S.I.I., Vol. V, No.138.
88. Ibid., Vol. VI, No.665.
89. Ibid., Vol. V, No.661.
90. Ibid., Vol. V, No.125.
91. Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Warangal District, No.18.
92. A.R.E., No.275 of 1930-31.
93. S.I.I., Vol. VII, No.737.
94. Bharati, June, 1976, p.20.
95. S.I.I., Vol. VII, No.737.
96. Ibid., Vol. IV, Nos. 1191, to 1198.
97. History of the Reddi Kingdoms, p.305.
98. Ibid.
99. S.I.I., Vol. X, No.395.
100. Nava Bhāratī, Aug., 1980, p.16.
101. A.R.E., C.P. No.11 of 1915.
102. E.I., Vol. XXXIII, p.161.
103. Bhāratī, Aug., 1930, p.297.
104. J.A.H.R.S., Vol. VI, p.170, cited in the Proceedings of A.P.H.C., III Session, p.31.



105. History of the Eastern Chālukyas of Vengi, p.288.
106. Basavapurāṇam, Part II, p.237.
107. Navanāthacharitra, Chapter V, verse, 211.
108. S.I.I., Vol. VI, No.910.
109. Rashtrakutas and their Times, p.273 and 311.
110. 'Kākatammaku Saitōdu Ēkavīra', Verse No.128.
111. Bhārati, Jan., 1968, p.3.
112. Vaiśvapurāṇam, Chapter 46, Verses 26-28.
113. Kṛidābhirāṇam, Verse 240.
114. Śivatatvasāramu, Preface, p.24.
115. Ibid., p.31.
116. Ibid., Verses 31-66.
117. Ibid., Verse 41.
118. Ibid., Verse 54.
119. Anubhavasāramu, Verse, 5.
120. Ibid., Verse 1.
121. Ibid., Verse 238.
122. Religion in Āndhra, p.289.
123. An inscription of a Chieftain by name Anantapāla in Chēbrolu dated A.D. 1116 makes reference to Śrīpatipandita as his 'guru' (A.R.E., No.1034 of 1897). Pōchirāju Viranna (A.D. 1826) stated in his Manuvamsapurāṇa that Śrīpatipandita was the 'guru' of the Telikis of Bezvada and also of king Chālukya Vishnuvardhana Mahārāja Dēvabhallaṇa Vira Perumāḷ Pratāpa Chōla, a king whose rule is not attested by any record in South Indian history.
124. Śivatatvasāramu, Preface, p.21.
125. Religion in Āndhra, p.290.



126. Tikkana dedicated his work Āndhra Māhā Bhārata to Lord Hariharanātha. He described Hariharanatha like this:

"Kimasti mālām kim kaustubhamvā Parishkṛiyāya bahumanyaset
Kim kālakūṭah kimuvā yasōdastanyam Tava svādu vada Prabhōmē

127. E.I., Vol. XIX, p.271.

128. Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Karimnagar District, No.2.

129. Ibid.,

130. A.R.E., No.29 of 1917, Part II.

131. S.I.I., Vol. V, No.1214; X, No.12.

132. Ibid., Vol. V, No.1214.

133. Ibid., Vol. VI, No.1000.

134. Ibid., Vol. V, No.1214; X No.348.

135. Ibid., Vol. V, No.1214.

136. Ibid.

137. Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Karimnagar District, No.4; and A.R.E., C.P. No.33 of 1961-62.

138. Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Karimnagar District, No.2.

139. S.I.I., Vol. VI, No.1000.

140. Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Karimnagar District, No.2.

141. A.R.E., No.246 of 1935-36.

142. S.I.I., Vol. V, No.1214; VI, No.1002.

143. Ibid., Vol. V, No.220; X, Nos. 12, 340.

144. Ibid., Vol. X, Nos. 12, 14, 110 etc.

145. Ibid., Vol. V, No.1214.

146. Ibid., Vol. X, No.12.



147. Ibid., Vol.IV, No.88.
148. Ibid., Vol. X, No.71.
149. Ibid., Vol. V, No.66.
150. Ibid., Vol. VI, No.1004.
151. Ibid.
152. Ibid., No.705.
153. Ibid., Vol. V, Nos. 12, 13, 15, etc.
154. Ibid., No.66.
155. Ibid., No.1188.
156. Ibid., No.125; V, No.989; X, No.715.
157. Ibid., Vol. X, No.348.
158. Ibid., Vol. V, Nos. 90, 91.
159. Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Karimnagar District, No.2.
160. S.I.I., Vol. V, Nos. 1154, 1155.
161. Ibid., Vol. IV, No.1221.
162. Ibid., Vol. V, No.91.
163. Ibid., Vol. VI, No.88.
164. Ibid., Vol. V, No.8.
165. Ibid., No.67.
166. In one Simhachalam inscription (S.I.I., Vol. VI, No.1125) it is noted that the ghee required to upkeep a daily lamp was seven measures and one aḍḍa per each month. Seven measures and one aḍḍa is equal to 30 mānikās and hence daily consumption of ghee for one lamp is one mānikā. The same rate is known from a number of records at various temples in Āndhra.
167. S.I.I., Vol. X, No.481. There is no uniform number in regard to the animals gifted for upkeep of these lamps. It differs from temple to temple and even in the same temple surprisingly we do not find any uniformity. But the normal system, obtained in majority cases, was the grant of 50 animals for upkeep of one lamp.

168. A.R.E., No.312 of 1930-31.
169. Kannada Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Nos. 22, 24 etc.
170. E.I., Vol. IV, p,226.
171. S.I.I., Vol. VI, No.896.
172. Ibid., Vol. V, No.125.
173. Ibid., No.1214.
174. Ibid., Vol. VI, No.705.
175. Ibid., Vol. IV, No.1016.
176. E.I., Vol. IV, No.226.
177. S.I.I., Vol. VI, No.989.
178. Ibid., No.698.
179. Ibid., Vol. V, No.1214.
180. Ibid., No.125.
181. Ibid., No.138.
182. Ibid., Vol. VI, No.896.
183. Ibid., No.661.
184. Ibid., Vol.IV, No.1038.
185. Ibid., Vol. VI, No.705.
186. Ibid., No.667.
187. A.R.E., No.275 of 1930-31.
188. S.I.I., Vol. VI, No.1000.
189. Ibid., Vol. VII, No.737.



190. Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Karimnagar District, No.2; and S.I.I., Vol. VI, Nos. 661, 662 etc.
191. Kannada Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, No.189.
192. The Chālukyas of L(V)emulavāda, p.44.
193. A.R.E. No.211 of 1899.
194. Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Karimnagar District, No.4.
195. Ibid.
196. Jain Vestiges in Andhra, p.44.
197. Ibid.
198. Epi. Carnatica, Vol. II, No.234.
199. Royal Conquests and Cultural Migrations in South India and the Deccan, p.35.
200. Jain Vestiges in Andhra, p.45.
201. Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Karimnagar District, No.5.
202. Epi. Andhrica, Vol. II, p.21.
203. Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Karimnagar District, No.2.
204. Ibid.
205. Epi. Andhrica, Vol. I, p.142.
206. Bhārati, June, 1976, p.20.
207. S.I.I., Vol. VII, No.737 and A.R.E., No.275 of 1930-31.
208. S.I.I. Vol. VI, No.216.
209. A.R.E. No.275 of 1930-31.
210. S.I.I. Vol. X, No.348.
211. Ibid., Vol.V, No.138.
212. Ibid., Vol. VI, No.216.
213. Ibid., No.214.
214. Ibid., Nos.663, 669 and 671.



CHAPTER - XLITERATURE

In the spheres of Language and Literature the period under study (A.D. 8th Century - 16th Century) was one of transition. It witnessed not only the development of regional languages but also the inauguration of valuable literary production in those languages. Telugu was being used for the first time for official and literary purposes in 6th-7th Century A.D., during the rule of the Chōlas of Rēnādu and Chālukyas of Vēngī. Practically these Chālukya rulers were responsible for ushering in Kannada and Telugu literatures. They used Sanskrit, Kannada and Telugu for their inscriptions. It was the patronage of the Chālukyas of Vēmula vāḍa that prompted the outcome of Pampa's Vikramāriṇa-vijayam, the first literary masterpiece in Kannada. Again, the encouragement of the Chālukyas of Vēngī resulted in Nanna Āndhra Mahābhārata, the first work in Telugu literature. This development in these literary fields need not be and should not be decried as 'regionalism'; for these rulers and their poets never neglected the common heritage of Sanskrit literature. In fact, the number of Sanskrit works produced during this period of study was much higher than that of the total number of works written in the regional languages. Moreover, scholars like Sōmadēvasūri, who enriched Sanskrit literature by their valuable treatises on Indian thought and culture in the tenth century, were



in the patronage of the Chālukyas of Vēmūlavāḍa. Until this period the poets had no option except to follow and depend completely on Sanskrit works. It was during this period that the enthusiasm of rulers roused the poets to bring out and popularise Kāvya and other works in regional languages. The patronage of these rulers covered literary works in Sanskrit, Kannaḍa and Telugu.

SANSKRIT LITERATURE

Sanskrit literature of this period consisted of many new works of merit on polity, religion, rhetoric and fine arts besides commentaries on old scientific works, Kāvya and Nāṭakas. The Sanskrit inscriptions of these rulers testify to their keen interest in Sanskrit. Kings like Arikēśari I and Arikēśari III were themselves accomplished scholars in various subjects, particularly in grammar; and they patronised Sanskrit scholars.¹ There were 'Sūristhānas', assemblies of scholars, at places like Vēmūlavāḍa² and Vāgīśaratnākaraḥpura³ and 'ghaṭikas' like the one at Asanapura⁴ which flourished with a number of scholars who were proficient not only in Vedic lore but also in Sanskrit literature. The contribution of the then Āndhras to Sanskrit literature in its various forms, would not suffer in comparison to that made by any region in any perio



Among the Chālukyas, the kings of Vēmulaṽāḁa stood foremost as patrons of Sanskrit literature. Kusumāyudha of the Mudigonda family appears to be a literary figure, according to Sāhityachūḁamāṇi of Pedakōmativēma.⁵ But none of his works is available at present. Similarly, Viddanācharya, who lived in the period of Induśēkhara II of the Niḁadavōlu family, is stated⁶ to have composed excellent works like Pramēvacharchāmrita, though they are not extant now. There are evidences of the remaining families also extending patronage to Sanskrit scholars. But the contribution of the Chālukyas of Vēmulaṽāḁa was undoubtedly voluminous; and they hold the first rank among patrons of Sanskrit.

The royal court of Vēmulaṽāḁa was adorned by scholars like Sōmadēvasūri, Thāṭaviyas, Vidyārāsi, Vyākhyāṇibhaṭṭāraka⁷ and Peddanabhaṭṭa.⁸ The outstanding figure among these was Sōmadēvasūri, who lived in the period of Vāgarāja, Baddega II and Arikēsari III.⁹ He was the 'sthānādīpati' of Śubhadhāma-jinālaya, constructed by Baddega, and was the donee of the Parabhaṇi plates. He was a staunch Jaina and was a disciple of Nēmidēva.¹⁰ He is stated to have been held in great esteem by a number of kings of the age. N. Venkataramanayya opined¹¹ that he was perhaps a North Indian who migrated south to settle down at Vēmulaṽāḁa.



Sōmadēva was a great Sanskrit scholar and authored a number of books like Yaśastilaka, Nītiyākvāmrita, Sannavatiṇṇakaraṇa, Mahēndra Mātali-Samīalpa and Yuktichintāmaṇi Sūtra.¹² Among these the first two became familiar. His intention in writing all these works was to preach Jaina philosophy.

Yaśastilaka, is the story of king Yaśōdhara of Ujjain and is composed in eight 'āśvāsas'.¹³ It is one of the earliest champūs written in Sanskrit literature.¹⁴ It is a realistic tale based on a domestic tragedy around which is woven a fabric of moral and religious edification. It is not only a Jaina romance but a learned compendium of Jaina and non-Jaina philosophical doctrines, a manual of Statecraft, a great repository of Kāvya poetry, ancient tales, citations and references, and of numerous rare words of lexical interest. The author gives a picture of the Imperial court, besides throwing sidelights on the problems of government. He stated that his poetry was a byproduct of his philosophical studies.¹⁵ In one of the opening verses of Yaśastilaka, he states that just as a cow yields milk by eating grass, his intellect produced the artistic expressions of his poetical labours by feeding on the dry logical studies to which he had devoted himself since his childhood.¹⁶ This statement shows that he began his



career as a student of logic, metaphysics etc. and grew into a poet late in his life. He composed this work at Gaṅgādhara, a place near Vemulavāḍa, in A.D. 959, while his patron was camping with his Rāshtrakūṭa overlord at Mēlpāḍi.¹⁷

Sōmadēva sometimes gave expression to a sense of over-confidence in his own powers, and claimed a monopoly of political talents. He asserted that he composed his work without aid from any source and without any model before him.¹⁸ According to him the poet who keeps before him the works of his predecessors as models and consults them again and again, and expresses himself in the same manner, is a thief and a sinner.¹⁹ But the researches on Sōmadēva by scholars like Handique rouse suspicion about his claim of originality about his work. A book named Yaśōdhara Charitra by a certain Prabhañjana was mentioned in a Prakrit work Kuvalayamāla composed by Udayōttanasūri in A.D. 777.²⁰ From this it is evident that the story of Yaśōdhara was current long before Sōmadēva wrote it in the tenth century. Hence he could not claim any originality regarding the plot. But he introduced some novel features in the form and contents of the romance which distinguish it from the other versions of the story of Yaśōdhara. As for the poetry in Yaśastilaka, it seems he was influenced by the 'Apuḥramsa' metres which prevailed



in Sanskrit during and before his time.²¹ His use of such metres in his book proves the wide range of his literary equipment and scholarship and his interest in the development of vernacular literature. He cultivated a highly ornate style which was replete with 'Śabda' and 'ardha' alankāras. His main object in writing this work does not seem to lie in the narration of the story of Yaśōdhara but in the display his mastery in every branch of knowledge.

Interestingly, it is stated that Yaśastilaka was copied by a celebrated scribe named Racchuka, who was called 'Lēkhakaśikhāmaṇī',²² and whose skill in calligraphy is said to have been utilized by the fair sex for their love letters.²³

Sōmadēva's second work which seems to have been written after Yaśastilaka was Nītivākyāmrīta.²⁴ It is a treatise on polity divided into thirty-two chapters. It might be ranked one among the best books on polity in medieval India. It reveals how much thought Sōmadēva gave to the principles of statecraft and well-being of the State. 'Syādvādāchalasīmha', 'Tārkikachakravartin', 'Vāḍibhapañchānana', Vākkallōlapayōnidhī' and 'Kavikularāja' were the honorific titles known about Sōmadēva from his Nītivākyāmrīta.²⁵ The praśasti verses of Nītivākyāmrīta emphasize Sōmadēva's reputation as a controversialist and proclaim his superiority to all



prospective disputants.²⁶ Some verses speak of Sōmadēva's eloquence which struck terror in the hearts of all disputants, and claim that even Bṛihaspati cannot hold his own in argument with him.²⁷ A similar claim was made by Śrīnātha, the 'Kavisārvabhauma' of the Telugu literature, in the fourteenth Century.²⁸

In the estimation of N. Venkataramanayya,²⁹ Sōmadēva's Yāśastilaka might be deemed an encyclopaedia, well stocked with interesting information on all possible subjects, and an indispensable aid to the historian of medieval India.

Regarding Nītivākyaṃrita, A.S. Altekar observed³⁰ that though this work had its base in the Arthasāstra of Kauṭilya, it was written from a much higher moral plane than the Arthasāstra.

In the opinion of Handique,³¹ Sōmadēva was one of the most versatile geniuses in the history of Indian literature. He was a profound scholar with well-stocked and retentive memory, an authority on Jaina dogma, and a critic of contemporary philosophical systems.

The works of the other writers like Thātaviyas, Vidyārāśi, Vyākhyānibhaṭṭāraka and Peddanabhaṭṭa who lived in the court of Vēmula vāḍa are not known. Similarly not much



is known of the patronage of Sanskrit literature under the remaining families. A majority of records beginning from the Mogalucheruvula grant³² of the Mudigonda family upto the Śrīkūrmam pillar inscription³³ of the Śrīkūrmam family were composed in Sanskrit. Varieties in Chhandas forms, like the 'Upajāti' metres, used in records like the Eḍarupalli re-issued grant,³⁴ Piṭhāpuram pillar inscription³⁵ and Pañchadhārāla record,³⁶ proclaim that the writers were scholars in Sanskrit. Kusumāyudha, most probably of the Mudigonda line, was specially cited as a writer in the Sāhityachūdāmaṇi of Pedakōmativēma.³⁷ Rulers like Vijayāditya I of the Jananāthapura family were specially praised³⁸ as the patrons of poets and scholars. An eminent man of letters, Viddanācharya, was much appreciated in the Conferences of scholars at places like Vāḡīśaratnākaraṇḍa. It was stated³⁹ that he composed treatises on 'Tarka' and 'mīmamsā' like Pramēyacharchāmṛita during the period of Induśekhara II of the Nidadavōlu family. Telugu poets like Vinnakōṭa Peddaya who lived under the patronage of the Elamañchilli family began their writings with the Sanskrit verses.⁴⁰ It is known from a verse in Kāvvalankarachūdāmaṇi that even in the fourteen century, poets in Āndhradēśa had much admiration for Sanskrit.⁴¹



KANNADA LITERATURE

Kavirājamāroga, the earliest known Kannada work written by Śrīvijaya in the ninth century, described⁴² that the country between Kāvērī and Gōdāvarī comprised the Kannada country. The Chāḷukyas of Vēṅgī, who were a branch of the Chāḷukyas of Bādāmi, left their original traces and became a part and parcel of Āndhra culture. They were, in fact, the founders of Telugu literature. When those rulers of Vēṅgī made efforts to pave the way for the emergence of Telugu literature, the Chāḷukyas of Vēmūlavāḍa who were practically ruling the then Kannada areas of the present Andhra Pradesh, simultaneously initiated the production of Kannada literature. These Vēmūlavāḍa rulers were solely responsible for the outcome of the first literary work in Kannada. It was under Arikēsari II, that poet Pāṃpa inaugurated the Kannada literature with his masterly works Ādipurāṇam and Sāhasavikramāriṇa Vijayam.

Pāṃpa is the 'Ādikavi' in Kannada literature. Though works like Guṇagāṅkīyam and Kavirājamāroga were written in the period before Pāṃpa, those were only 'lakṣhaṇa granthas'. Hence Pāṃpa's works have come to be regarded as the earliest Kāvya.⁴³ By birth, Pāṃpa was an Āndhra Brāhmaṇa; and he originally belonged to the village Vāṅgiparru in the Vēṅgī country.⁴⁴ His ancestors



were Sōmayājins who performed Vedic sacrifices.⁴⁵ His father, Bhīma, had inclination to Jainism; but he did not give up Brāhmaṇism. It was in his period that the family migrated to the areas of Vēmulavāḍa from its native province. Probably, the views of Bhīma influenced Pāṃpa and made him an admixture of Brāhmaṇism and Jainism. No doubt Pāṃpa favoured and followed Jainism; but he never cut himself off from Brāhmaṇism.⁴⁶ In the opinion of some scholars, he spent sometime in the country of Vanavāsa before his entry into the royal court of Vēmulavāḍa.⁴⁷ As he himself stated, his main object in writing the two 'Champūs' Ādipurāṇam and Vikramārluna Vijayam, was to achieve 'matadharmā' and 'kāvyadharmā'.⁴⁸

Ādipurāṇa, the first work of Pāṃpa, relates the story of Vṛishabhanātha, the famous Jaina Tīrthankara. It is a work of sixteen 'āśvāsas' and it is said that Pāṃpa completed its writing within a short period of three months.⁴⁹ He himself states that he had written it for his own pleasure.⁵⁰ By writing this he acquired fame as 'Purāṇakavi'.⁵¹ He took this story from Pūrvapurāṇa, a Sanskrit work by Jinasēna.⁵² There was not much scope in a purāṇa like this to exhibit his originality in narrative art and imagery. The stories of the early lives of Purudēva, his 'parinishkramaṇa



his 'dharmavihāra', his preaching of 'jīnadharma' and his 'nirvāṇa' formed the contents of this work.⁵³ Though it was a rare work in the literary perspective, it did not catch the attention of the people to the extent it should.⁵⁴

His second work Sāhasavikramārjuna Viṭayam, popularly known as Vikramārjunaviṭayam or Pāṃpa Bhāratam, was written in six months and dedicated to his patron Arikēsari II, who bore the epithet 'Vikramārjuna'.⁵⁵ In the opinion of some writers he did not do justice to the story of Mahābhārata, though in the 'avatārika' it was stated that he wrote it at the instance of and with the encouragement of scholars who pronounced that he alone had the talent to do justice to the original story of Vyāsa.⁵⁶ While narrating the story, he did not hesitate to change the original plot of Vyāsa, just for his convenience of making Arikēsari resemble Arjuna.⁵⁷ This made him a target to the criticism of some writers.⁵⁸ In their opinion, he spoiled the sanctity of the Mahābhārata by making it to reflect the story of king Arikēsari, after all an ordinary human being.⁵⁹ Some of the main changes made by Pāṃpa in his work are:

- i) Draupadi was shown as the wife of Arjuna but not of all the Pāṇḍavās.
- ii) The divinity of Lord Krishna, the central figure in the story of the Mahābhārata, was not accorded any significance.



- iii) After the great Bhārata battle, Subhadra and Arjuna got coronated, but not Draupadi and Dharmarāja.

It was probable that a study of various works on the same theme in Sanskrit obtaining at his time like Jaina Bhārata, Kirātārjunīya and Vēṇīsamhāra roused his religious zeal to make changes in the theme as related in the original Sanskrit Mahābhārata of Vyāsa.⁶⁰ Actually, in the Jaina Bhārata, Draupadi was described as the wife of only Arjuna;⁶¹ and Pampa might have followed it. Pampa might not have given importance to the divinity of Lord Kṛishṇa, probably because of his personal inclination towards Jainism. Similarly, in introducing the coronation of Subhadra and Arjuna, Pampa's aim was to reflect in it the story of Arikēśari's accession to the throne. Hence the critics opined that the changes in the Mahābhārata story might have been prompted by contemporary political events and situations during the period of Arikēśari II.⁶²

Though Pampa made changes like the above, he did not carry them out throughout the story. Probably by following Jaina Bhārata he made Draupadi the wife of Arjuna only. But he reverted to the original story as When Draupadi was put to shame in the Kurusabha, he made Bhīma, not Arjuna, to take the oath of revenge against the Kauravas as in Vyāsa's.⁶³ Similarly, when Draupadi made a complaint



regarding molestation by Kīchaka in the city of Virāṭanagara it was not to Arjuna, but to Bhīma.⁶⁴ Again after killing Duśśāsana in the great Kurukshētra battle, it was Bhīma who tied the loose tresses of Draupadi into a knot with his hands seeking with the dead enemy's blood. In all these incidents Bhīma called Draupadi his wife.⁶⁵ Probably all these inconsistencies crept into Pampa's work owing to his conflicting loyalties to Brāhmanism and Jainism.

Whatever be the criticism on the contents of Bhārata of Pampa, it is admitted that his poetic style, characterization and narrative skill are uncommon. His vocabulary is replete with sweetness, beauty and depth.⁶⁶ He tried to pack elaborate meaning into simple words or epigrams.⁶⁷ He described himself as 'hita-mita-mṛidu-vachana' and 'prasanna-gambhīra-vachanarachanā-chatura'. Sakalārtha samyuta, Lalitapada, Vākśrīsubhaga etc. are the characteristic features of his writing.⁶⁸ He characterised his Kāvya-guṇas as Kōmalam, Sūktigarbham, Mṛidusandarbham, Vichāarakshamām, Uchitapadam and Śrāvyam.⁶⁹ A study of his works undoubtedly proves that these claims are justified. He used more varieties of Sanskrit vrittās than of Dēśī vrittās.⁷⁰ Tarala, Mallikāmla, Mahasragdhara, Pṛithivīvṛitta, Drutavilambita, Śikharinī, Mālīni, Hariṇapluta, Khacharapluta etc. are the varieties of Chhandas he used in his verses.⁷¹ In appreciation



of his poetical talents, Arikēsari II honoured him with the title 'Kavitāguṇārṇava' and granted him the village of Dharmapuri.⁷² He was the first among the 'Kannāḍa Kavitraya'. A number of Kannāḍa and Telugu poets of the later period were impressed by the poetic talents of Pāmpa. Poet Ranna praised him as an uncomparable poet, 'Upamātīta'.⁷³ The respect with which this esteemed poet was held made later poets like Nāgachandra to call themselves 'Abhinava Pāmpa'.⁷⁴ Thus Pāmpa had left his impress on Kannāḍa literature. It was only owing to him that Kannāḍa literature was could earn the distinction of being endowed with its first Kāvya, a full century before Telugu could have a similar privilege.

In the opinion of some scholars like M. Chidanandamurthy,⁷⁵ Pāmpa used in his work the pure Kannāḍa which was current in the area of Puligere.

Nothing definite is known regarding the role of Pāmpa in Telugu literature. But the authorship of a Telugu work by name Jinēndrapurāṇam is attributed to him. Nidadavolu Venkatarao identified Padmakavi, the writer of that work, with Pāmpa;⁷⁶ and later writers like K. Subbaramappa,⁷⁷ Tirumala Ramachandra⁷⁸ Challa Radhakrishna Sarma⁷⁹ and Divakarla Venkatavadhani⁸⁰ implicitly accepted that identification. But the recent researches of Korlapati Sriramamurthy⁸¹ question such an identification.



Jinēndrapurāṇam of Padmakavi is not available at present. Only some verses, which are stated to have been borrowed from that work, are quoted in the Prabandharatnākara of Pedapāṭi Jagannatha of the Sixteenth Century.⁸² Veturi Prabhakara Sastry, in his introduction to the Prabandha Ratnāvali,⁸³ opined that those verses do not appear to have been written earlier. But Nidadavolu Venkatarao⁸⁴ tried to prove that those verses belonged to the period of Pampa. The grounds advanced by Venkatarao to assign the authorship of Jinēndrapurāṇa to Pampa, who might have been called in Telugu as Padmakavi, are the following:

- i) Muliyaṁ Timmapayya noticed in his work Nadōja lāmpa that the words 'Pampa' and 'Padma' were variant forms and were derived from the same name Padmaprabha, the sixth Jaina Tirthankara.
- ii) Pampa, being originally a resident of Vaṅgiparru, a village situated in the Telugu area, he must have definitely possessed enough scholarship in Telugu to write Jinēndrapurāṇa.
- iii) Because Pampa wrote Ādinurāṇa in Kannada there is no improbability in saying that he might have written on the same theme in Telugu as Jinēndrapurāṇa.
- iv) This work falls into the category of 'Chitrakavita'; and hence there is a possibility that it was written before the period of Nannaya.

But all these reasons shown for identifying Pampa with the Telugu poet Padmakavi have been thoroughly refuted by Sriramamurthy.⁸⁵ He argues that there is no considerable evidence to treat Pampa as the author of Jinēndrapurāṇa.



The use of 'Chitrakavita' in that work only shows it to be an early work, but not as a work of the Pre-Nannaya period. The composition of Ādiṭṭurāṇa in Kannada can by no means form a ground for attributing the authorship of Jinēndrapurāṇa to Pāmpa. The Pāmpa could have been endowed with the capacity to write books even in Telugu is not in question; but possession of that talent by itself is not sufficient to justify his identification with Padmakavi. Similarly, his nativity in the Telugu area does not necessarily point to his authorship of Jinēndrapurāṇa. Sriramamurty⁸⁶ objects to the derivation of the word 'Pāmpa' from the word 'Padma'. Even if we admit without sufficient basis, that Pāmpa wrote Jinēndrapurāṇa, where was the necessity for him to change his name as Padmakavi? He should have retained his well-known name 'Pāmpa' even in Telugu. All these go to prove that Pāmpa and Padmakavi were not identical but separate individuals and that Pāmpa did not write any work in Telugu.

Any sketch of the literary activity in Kannada under the Chālukyas of Vemulavāḍa will not be complete without reference to the verses of Jinavallabha in his only record at Bommalagutta,⁸⁷ near Kurkyāla in the Karimnagar District. Therein Jinavallabha calls himself the younger brother of Pāmpa. This record which was intended to enumerate his pious deeds is very important in view of its literary interest.



Three languages-Sanskrit, Kannada and Telugu - were made use of in the script of this inscription. Jinavallabha had several titles like 'Sakalakalāpravīṇa', 'Bhavyaratnākara', and 'Guṇapakshapāti'.⁸⁸ He was famous for his skill in composing poetry. He could write Kāvya in various styles; he could expound in a proper manner the principles of poesy with his experience of their real import, and he could impart fresh knowledge even to the intellectuals. He was proficient in music and could recite poetry melodiously. His ability and skill in all arts was unrivalled. As such, he bore the epithet 'Vāgvadhūvaravallabha'.⁸⁹ This record may be considered as a link between Kannada and Telugu literatures.

TELUGU LITERATURE

The question of the origin of Telugu language and literature is enmeshed with a number of problems. In the absence of concrete reliable evidences scholars differ in their conclusions about those problems. Scholars like Bishop Caldwell opined that Telugu had its origins in the family of Dravidian languages, whereas scholars like Chilukuri Narayanarao argued that it had its origin in Sanskrit and Prakrit.⁹⁰ Though Telugu is found used in Gāthā Saptasatī, a Prakrit work compiled by Hāla Sātavāhana in the first century A.D., it developed as inscripational language only from the sixth and seventh centuries, i.e.,



during the period of Rēnāṭi Chōlas and Vēngī Chālukyas. In the pre-Nannaya period there was no literary activity in Telugu; consequently inscriptions alone form the basis to know the gradual development of the Telugu language. It is in them that the Telugu script began to show a permanence and finality. One surprising feature in the inscriptions of this period is the variety in their composition. The inscriptions of this period may be broadly divided into three categories - inscriptions in prose, inscriptions in poetry and inscriptions in both prose and poetry (i.e., Champū). These inscriptions form the earliest phase of development of Telugu, Prose and Verse. Taruvōja, Sīsa, Madhyākkara, Kaṇṇoda etc. are the types of verses found in those inscriptions.⁹¹ The inscription of Jinavallabha⁹² is the best record from which the condition of Telugu in the north-west parts of Āndhra could be known. The verses found in it are the earliest specimens of such kind in the Telugu language. The inscriptions of the Vēmulavāda kings do not show any trace of the Telugu language. But the inscriptions of the Mudigonda family deserve special attention in the study of the early phase of Telugu. Prior to their period, the influence of Prakrit was higher on Telugu; but from this time onwards Telugu came under the influence of Sanskrit. Words of local usage 'Dēśya' found place alongside Sanskrit phrases,



in the framing of sentences. Such a beautiful and easy style of writing with simple dialogues makes its appearance for the first time in Telugu in the Koravi epigraph,⁹³ and it resembles the style used later by Nannaya in translating Mahābhārata. From this it appears that such a beautiful simple style in Telugu prose took shape at least a century and a half before it found employment in a literary masterpiece. The Gudur inscription of Viriyāla Malla⁹⁴ which belonged to the period of Bēta of the Mudigonda family is also important in this context. Though Parabrahma Sastry thinks⁹⁵ that this record belongs to late Nannaya period, Divakarla Venkatavardhani⁹⁶ and Korlapati Sriramamurty⁹⁷ correctly placed this as belonging to the Pre-Nannaya period.

All the words in those stanzas were not even clearly meaningful, but the idiomatic and rhetorical language used and its even flow would serve as a precedent to Nannaya's style. In this Gudur inscription⁹⁸ there are three Champakamāla vṛittas and two Utpalamāla vṛittas. In these vṛittas, just like the vṛittas found in the Eastern Chāḷukya records of the ninth and tenth centuries, the observance of 'prāsa' (which is not found in Sanskrit vṛittas) and of 'yati' (which is not found even in Kannada verses) is noticed. This method marks a significant development in the



Telugu poetry. It was during this period that regional languages began the process of drawing upon each other for suitable words. Telugu borrowed some of its words from other regional languages like Tamil.⁹⁹ The Kāvya-lankarachūdāmaṇi of the 15th Century A.D. states that words like 'Biruda' were borrowed from Marāṭhi.¹⁰⁰ A remarkable development in the Telugu language could be traced in the Pre-Nannaya period itself.

Such was the advanced position of Telugu before the eleventh century. Nannaya the 'Ādikavi' of the Āndhras took it up reformed and refined it, and made it suitable vehicle of literary expression. For style and for other aspects of literary purposes, he no doubt, consulted the Kannada poets, particularly Pampa, who wrote on the same theme roughly over a century earlier. Owing to this, in many places we find the echoes of Pampa in the Āndhra Mahābhārata of Nannaya.¹⁰¹ We should not however brand it as an imitation. The entire Kannada literature before the eleventh century is a common heritage both for the Karnaṭakas and Āndhras. Political, cultural and literary affinities between Karnaṭaka and Āndhra regions were very close, and in the early centuries there was no regional demarcation at all. Kannada developed itself as a literary



language some centuries earlier than Telugu and provided an example for Telugu to follow in its foot steps. The Telugu poets while deriving benefits from Kannada examples, were not prepared to be blind imitators but modified them according to their own fashion as demanded by the needs of artistic expression. The introduction of 'Prāsa' and 'Yati' was one such innovation.¹⁰² Though Nannaya followed Pampa in some respects, there are some differences in the approaches and attitudes of these two 'Adikavi's'. Pampa wrote Bhārata for the delight of his patron Arikēsari,¹⁰³ whereas Nannaya translated it to reinstall 'dharma' in society.¹⁰⁴ Both had their own religious promptings in this project. Pampa changed the story with a Jaina slant¹⁰⁵ whereas Nannaya conformed to the original Sanskrit version in essence without personal predilections.¹⁰⁶ Regarding the medium of presentation both adopted champū, a blend of prose and verse. It should not be stated that Nannaya imitated Pampa, for Telugu inscriptions in Champū were extant even in the pre-Nannaya period. Champū medium was not the monopoly of Kannada literature, but a common heritage both of Kārṇāṭakas and Āndhras.

The first literary work in Telugu, Āndhra Mahābhārata, has had its beginning with Nannaya, the court poet of Chāḷukya Rājarājanarēndra of Rājamahēndravara during



eleventh century.¹⁰⁷ By patronising Nannaya, Rājarāja carved a niche for himself in the literary history of the Āndhras. He is referred to with high esteem in the records¹⁰⁸ and literature¹⁰⁹ of the Chālukya families at Elamañchili and Śrīkūrmam. But surprisingly enough it is stated in the Śrīkūrmam pillar inscription¹¹⁰ that Rājarājanarēndra himself had, with the help of scholars translated into Āndhra the Mahābhārata, the history of the excellent Bhārata race, which is the essence of all 'Smritis'. This declaration goes against the popular concept that Nannaya translated Bhārata with the encouragement of Rājarāja. We do not know, how the Chālukyas of Śrīkūrmam, the later successors of Rājarāja, blundered in narrating this fact. The epigraphical reference appears to be a mistake; but does it not adversely reflect on the writer of that inscription Nṛsiṃhakavi who was known to be a profound scholar? It does if Nṛsiṃhakavi deliberately deviated from truth so that he might flatter the vanity of the ruler by making his ancestor shine as a great poet. Otherwise it only shows how good Homer some-times nods, how eminent men occasionally commit lapses. The latter-view is just and charitable for both the writer and his patron.

The kings of the Jananāthapura family also took keen interest in popularising Bhārata, the sacred history of their own lunar ancestors, as known from a record of Vīranarēndra!



It states that Vijayāditya II, the father of Vīraṇarēndra, wrote Bhārataṭakhvāna, which is not extant, but which must have dealt with the Bhārata story. From this it is evident that the Chāḷukya families had the same devout interest in the Mahābhārata throughout the period of their rule.

Telugu literature which began in the court of Chāḷukya Rājārāja on the banks of the sacred Gōdavarī during the eleventh century, continued to flourish with various developments in the succeeding centuries. Works on multifarious subjects, from polity to fine arts, gradually came into being. Writers like Nārāya and Vēdaya successfully attempted to write even scientific treatises in Telugu, but their number was necessarily limited.¹¹² Rhetorical works were practically non-existent. Upto the fourteenth century no considerable attempt was made in the Telugu land to write such books in Telugu.¹¹³ It was during the period of Upēndra III of the Elamañchili Chāḷukya branch, i.e., in the third quarter of the fourteenth century, that Dōṇayāmātya, a Brāhmaṇa of Śrīvatsa-gōtra and son of Māchirāja and Rudrāmbā, wrote Sasvānandam.¹¹⁴ a typical scientific work on climate, rains and monsoon and their impact on agricultural operations. Being a devotee of Śiva, he dedicated his work to Lord Mallikāṛjuna of Śrīśailam. Roughly in the



same period poet Retṭa wrote a book on the same subject in Kannada.¹¹⁵ In Sasvānandam, Dōnaya mentioned that he wrote another book by name Sarvalōkāśrayam, probably describing the history of the Chālukya dynasty of Elamañchili.¹¹⁶ But unfortunately it is not available now. As already stated, Sasvānandam makes a detailed and scientific study of climate, rains and monsoon. It is a Champū in four 'āśvāsas' and 228 verses. This work is the only source from which we can glean the contemporary knowledge of the Telugu people in the fields of astronomy and agriculture. As Dōnaya himself stated, it was really daring to undertake to predict precisely about rain fall.¹¹⁷ His work no doubt proves that he succeeded in teaching the science of rains to the people. In this work he studied the movements of planets and the gradual changes that occurred in stars, sky, air, clouds etc., and their reciprocal contacts and reactions.¹¹⁸ He observed how birds and animals signal the forthcoming rains. Thus he studied at depth astronomy and nature, in writing about rains. Interestingly, a number of Telugu poets of the contemporary and later periods like Śrīnāthi¹¹⁹ and Jakkana¹²⁰ drew upon this work for describing rainy season in their works. Being an astronomer, Dōnaya used some technical terms in his work.¹²¹ He described some methods to measure the rain-fall. To predict the timing rains, he suggested



some tests like 'Tulapariksha'.¹²² Basing on the taste of rain water, he suggested crops for bumper yield in the next monsoon.¹²³ Chaganti Seshayya wrote¹²⁴ that he practised some of these tests to know about rain-fall and expressed satisfaction with the results. Nidadavolu Venkatarao, observed¹²⁵ that this work is noteworthy not only from the scientific point of view, but also by its literary merit. Dōnayāmātya introduced 'Mañjarīdvipada' for the first time in Telugu literature.¹²⁶ He employed the metre of 'Madhuratiragada' also, though its usage was rare in the then poems.¹²⁷ He was an innovator in Chandas forms; he introduced a separate system of placing 'yatis'.¹²⁸ Thus Sasyānandam has a significant place in the history of Telugu literature; and it testifies to the scientific knowledge of the Telugu people in the fourteenth century.

As stated already, no attempt had been made in producing rhetorical works in the first three centuries and a half after the beginning of Telugu literature. Writers of the Telugu country of this period, no doubt, wrote a number of rhetorical works; but those were all composed in Sanskrit. Poets like Rēchana and Kētana wrote in Telugu, but their scope was limited.¹²⁹ This was the period when Sanskrit Kāvya reigned as the ideal form of literary composition. A Telugu poet had no option



but to adopt the methods prescribed for the Sanskrit works, and to model his Kāvya in accordance with those rules.¹³⁰ Such was the plight of Telugu literature and contempt and indifference to which it was exposed in the Telugu land. Viśvēśvaradēva, the scholar-king in the Elamañchili Chāḷukya branch desired to lift Telugu Literature from this morass. He requested his court poet Vinnakōṭa Peddaya¹³¹ to write a rhetorical work in Telugu. At his request and by his encouragement, Peddaya wrote the first Telugu Alankāraśāstra, Kavyā lankāra-chūdāmaṇi, and dedicated it to his patron.

Vinnakōṭa Peddaya was the son of Gōvindāmātya, a Brāhmaṇa of Kauśika-gōtra.¹³² As a poet and writer of inscriptions, he was familiar figure in the court of Elamañchili during the period of Viśvēśvara. Long before, when details of the Elamañchili family did not come to light, writers like Kandukuri Viresalingam¹³³ and Bulusu Venkataramanayya¹³⁴ expressed the opinion that this poet lived in the first half of the fourteenth century. But M. Somasekhara Sarma¹³⁵ and Vedam Venkataraya Sastry¹³⁶ correctly point out that Peddaya lived at the end of fourteenth century.

Though it was a custom among the poets to sing the glories of the early poets like 'Kavitraya' in their works,



Peddaya nowhere mentioned any poet in his work.¹³⁷ He declared¹³⁸ that his was an independent work which had its traces in the earlier works and which stood in no obligation to earlier poets. In a slightly earlier period, poets like Rēchana and Kētana made attempts to pave way for such works on rhetoric in Telugu literature with their books, Kavīlanāśrayam and Andhra Bhāṣabhūṣanam. But their scope was limited and they dealt with only one particular aspect of its study. Peddaya's aim in bringing out this book was to provide, in one place, a compendium of all 'kāvyaguṇas' and other different elements that would be useful for a Telugu poet who wished to produce a Kāvya.¹³⁹ This type of composition of all aspects like 'Rasa', 'Alaṅkāra', 'Chhanda' and 'Vyākaraṇa' is not found even in Sanskrit.¹⁴⁰ This creditable achievement of Peddaya brought him deserved praise from later poets like Gaṇapavarapu Vēṇkaṭakavi.¹⁴¹

Kāvyalankarachūdāmaṇi is a beautiful composition of various literary fascets in nine 'ullāsas'. To denote a chapter Peddaya employed neither the term 'āśvāsa' nor 'adhyāya' then in common usage. He called it an 'ullāsa' which means 'shining bright'. The title of the book is Kāvyalankarachūdāmaṇi, a crest jewel made of 'Kāvyalankāras'. A jewel radiates brightness in various directions; and hence it is appropriate to call those chapters as 'ullāsas',



as they illumine the multiple facets of literary excellence. In those 'ullāsas' he dealt in detail with 'bhāva', 'rasa', 'nāyikānāyakas', 'kāvyabhēdas', 'ardha and śabda alankāras', 'chhandas' and 'vyākaraṇa'. Instead of illustrating the 'lakṣhaṇa' with a quotation from the work of a previous poet, he composed for the purpose his own stanzas in praise of Viśvēśvara. Thus for all 'Kāvyaḡunas' his examples carried the name of his patron, Viśvēśvara, and thus made him inseparable from his monumental literary achievement. As the poet and his patron were admirers of the art of music, the former composed musical verses in praise of Viśvēśvara.¹⁴² The talent of the poet in composing such verses received universal approbation. It continues to be appreciated even now by the famous musicians and scholars in Āndhra dēśa.¹⁴³

Admitting Kāvvalankārachūdāmaṇi as an original work, writers like Vedam Venkataraya Sastry¹⁴⁴ and Chaganti Seshayya¹⁴⁵ opined that Peddaya might have been guided by Pratāparudriya of Vidyānātha, who lived roughly half a century before him. Peddaya's admission that he followed early works, and his adoption of the method of associating his patron's name with his illustrative stanzas for the various 'Kāvya lakṣhaṇas' (which method Vidyānātha followed earlier) might probably be the reasons for the conclusion



arrived at by those writers. But there should be no doubt in accepting Kāvvalankārachūdāmaṇi as an original and independent work of Peddaya. Because the nature of work is the same, there may be some similarities here and there with other similar works. Such similarities can be observed in Sanskrit works of like nature - Kāvyaḍarśa, Basamañjarī and Pratāparudrīya. Peddaya's approach to the subject was individual and independent. Only the principles or 'lakṣhaṇas' accepted by him found place in his work. He dealt with 36 'ardhālankāras' whereas Vidyānātha went upto 66. He was concerned with 10 'kāvyaguṇas' whereas Vidyānātha described 24. He elaborated 4 'Rīthīs' - Vaidarbhī, Gauḍī, Pañchālī and Lāṭī, whereas Vidyānātha omitted the fourth one. Similarly he described 20 'Śringārachēṣṭas' whereas Vidyānātha was content only with 18. Thus Peddaya differed in many respects from Vidyānātha and hence his work should not be considered as an imitation of Vidyānātha's Pratāparudrīya. Peddaya differed not only with Vidyānātha, but also with a number of other writers on the subject like Rājaśēkhara and Siṅgabhūpala.¹⁴⁶ For example, Peddaya distinguished seven categories among poets whereas Rājaśēkhara raised the number of types to ten, and Siṅgabhūpala reduced it to four. Apart from such departures from early works, the work of Peddaya is creditable for some other novel things also. In Telugu literature it is his work that enunciated the



'lakṣhaṇas' of Udāharāṇa and Rāgāḍa for the first time.¹⁴⁷

Regarding his poetic talent, Peddaya himself emphatically declared his competence to write beautiful poems which would draw applause even from experts in the field.¹⁴⁸ His love of Telugu language was more profound. He was proud to belong to the Telugu country which had Śrīpārvata, Kālēśvara, and Drākṣhārāma for its borders.¹⁴⁹ He made an appeal to all to learn Telugu thoroughly, because it was the language of their native land.¹⁵⁰ Nowhere did he mention the word 'Jānu Tenugu' to denote the language of common usage. He called it as 'Accha Tenugu'. Hundreds of varieties of verses which are rarely used in Telugu literature like Paṇimāla, Bhadrinī, Śvalalita, Sindhura, Ratipriyā, Aṅgaajāstrā, Nāḍīpraghōṣa, Vīṇārachana, Śrīraṇaṇā, came to light only through his work. It became essential for him to use all those metres, as his work is a 'lakṣhaṇa grantha'. Basing on the internal evidences of the work,¹⁵¹ it can be said that it was written in between A.D. 1402 and 1407.

No other works of Peddaya are available at present. But Manavilli Ramakrishna Kavi¹⁵² noticed that Peddaya wrote another poem by name Pradyumnacharitra. He also quoted some verses, which were stated to have been written in it by Peddaya. But writers like Kandukuri Veeresalingam¹⁵³ and Arudra¹⁵⁴ pointed out that those verses were undoubtedly



from Pradvumnacharitra written not by Peddaya, but by Ponnāda Peddirāju, who lived in the same Visakhapatnam district in the 16th Century. As such Kavvalankārachūdāmaṇi is the only available work of Vinnakōṭa Peddaya. Besides Peddaya, there were poets like Chenna Kavirāja under the patronage of the later rulers of the Elamañchili family.¹⁵⁵

Thus Telugu literature gained a certain status in this period. Telugu could be the vehicle of expression for even scientific ideas. It could embody works on Prosody and Rhetoric in the fourteenth century. It received patronage from the descendants of the Chālukyas of Vēṅgī whose reign witnessed the introduction of Telugu literature in Āndhradēśa.

Another important experiment made in Telugu during this period was the writing of 'Dvyardhi Kāvyas'. Dvyardhi Kāvya is a literary composition in which every word gives two meanings connected with two separate stories. The first poem of such type seems to be the Rāghavapāṇḍavīyam written by Vēmulaṇḍa Bhīmakavi, a very controversial figure in Telugu literature. The details of his place and time are even now in a melting pot,¹⁵⁶ which seems to yield no definite conclusions. He is supposed to have written several books, but none of them is available. He is very famous for his 'Tiṭṭukavita'. He is considered



to be the son of a Brāhmaṇa widow of Vēmula vāda born under a blessing of God of Bhīmēśvara of Drākshārāma. He says that his 'word' has the potency of the weapons of Viṣṇu and Indra etc. and the inevitability of the writing of Brahma.¹⁵⁷ A number of legends about the powers of Bhīmakavi are still popular in Āndhradēśa. As for his relations with the Chālukya families, some of his Chāṭus mention one Chokkanripāla.¹⁵⁸ In a rivalry between Chālukya Chokka and Sāhinimāra, Bhīmakavi is stated to have sided with the Chālukya prince and pronounced a curse on Sāhinimāra, which made the latter a captive in the hands of Chokkarāja.¹⁵⁹ These Chāṭus of Bhīmakavi are the best and the earliest specimens of 'Tittukavita' in Telugu literature.

One more development became noticeable at a slightly later period in the Telugu literary field; it was the emergence of works in praise of particular caste. One among such types was the Vaiśya-purāṇa of Bhāskarācharya. It was written in the early part of the sixteenth century and dedicated to the youth of the Vaiśya families who lived in Penugonda of the West Godavari district. In this work of eight 'āśvāsas' he narrated the story of Vāsavīkanya and mentioned some principles and practices of the Vaiśyas, which were sanctified by tradition. Though the aim of this work was to enhance the glory of the Vaiśya community



of the 14th and 15th centuries, its importance has in its exposure of the social history of the Vais̥yas.¹⁶⁰ It is a unique work of such type in Telugu literature.



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1. Bhārati, Aug., 1930, p.297.
2. Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Karimnagar District, No.2.
3. Bhārati, June, 1976, p.20.
4. Nava Bhārati, July, 1979, p.18.
5. History of the Reddi Kingdoms, p.463.
6. Bhārati, June, 1976, p.20.
7. Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Karimnagar District, No.2.
8. The Chālukyas of L(V)ēmula vāda, p.90.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid., p.46.
12. Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture, p.1.
On the basis of a manuscript of Nitivākyāmṛita written in A.D. 1368 and preserved in one of the Jāinabhaṇḍāras at Pattan, Handiqui believed that the title Yuktichintāmaṇi was a mistake and that it should be Yuktichintāmnistava.
13. Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture, preface.
14. Āndhra Vañomavāraṇibhāṣa, p.698.
15. Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture, p.10.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid., p.3.
Regarding the identification of Gaṅgādhara, Handiqui tried to locate it in or around Dharwar district of Karnāṭaka. (Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture, p.4). But it is not correct. It is no other than the present village Gaṅgādhara near Kurkyāla in the Karimnagar district of Andhra Pradesh. The antiquity of the village is evident from the epigraph of Jinavallabha, the brother of Pampa.
18. Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture, p.12.
19. Ibid.



20. Ibid., p.42.
21. Ibid., p.7.
22. Ibid., p.1.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid., p.1.
Scholars like Raghavan (New Indian Antiquary, Vol. VI, p.67) and Premi (Jaina Siddhanta Bhāskara, Vol. XI, p.90) suggested that Somadeva might have passed sometime at Kanauj and during his sojourn there he was encouraged to compose this Nītiyākyamrita by Mahēndrapāla II who reigned there in the middle of the tenth Century. But in the light of the details known about Sōmadēva, Handicui doubted the supposed connection of Sōmadēva with the Pratihāra court of Kanauj. (Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture, Appendix I).
25. Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture, p.1.
26. Ibid., p.11.
27. Ibid.
28. Chātunadvamanimāñjarī, p.138.
29. The Chālukyas of L(V)āmulavāda, p.46.
30. Rashtrakutas and their Times, p.411.
31. Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture, p.32.
32. I.A., Vol. XXXII, p.281.
33. E.I., Vol. V, p.32.
34. Bhāratī, Jan., 1968, p.3.
35. E.I., Vol. IV, p.226.
36. S.I.I., Vol. VI, No.665.
37. History of the Reddi Kingdoms, p.463.
38. S.I.I., Vol. IV, No.1373-A.
39. Bhāratī, June, 1976, p.20.
40. Kāvya-lankārachūdāmaṇi, Ullāsa 1, Verse 1.



41. Ibid., Ullasa 9, Verse, 4.
42. Bhāratī, Oct., 1977, p.44.
43. Ibid., July, 1958, p.33.
It is said that Guracāṅkiyam, a Chandas Śāstra, was written by a Kannaḍa poet and dedicated to Guṇagaviḷayāditya, the famous king in the Eastern Chālukya line during ninth Century. This fact is referred to in a Tamil work Yāpparunḷalakkāṇḷai written by a Jaina poet Amṛitasāgara. (A.S.P.P., Vol. XXIV, p.95).
44. The Chālukyas of L(V)emulavāda, p.45.
45. Epi. Andhrīca, Vol. II, p.21.
Regarding parentage, there is a difference in the statements made by Pampa and by his younger brother Jinavallabha. According to Pampa, the progenitor of his family was Mādhava Sōmayāji, whose son was Abhimānachandra. To Abhimānachandra was born Kumārayya, who gave birth to Abhimānadevarāya, the father of Pampa. But according to Jinavallabha, his grand-father's name was Abhimānachandra. Abhimāna Chandra's son was Bhīma and Pampa and Jinavallabha were Bhīma's sons. Thus Pampa's father's name differs in these two statements. N. Venkataramanayya, who doubted the published copy of Vikramārjunaviḷayam, studied various manuscripts of that work and concluded that Bhīma was the father of Pampa. He also says that the readings of those manuscripts of the work are incorrect and that they actually give the genealogy as known from the inscription of Jinavallabha.
46. Dakshina Bhārata Sāhityamulu, p.61.
47. Sources of Karnataka History, Vol. I, p.88.
48. Bhāratī, July, 1958, p.33.
49. Dakshina Bhārata Sāhityamulu, p.62.
50. Ibid.
51. Bhāratī, July, 1958, p.33.
52. Dakshina Bhārata Sāhityamulu, p.62.
53. Ibid.



54. Ibid.
55. Ibid., p.63.
56. Āndhra Vāṇomayāraṁbhadaśa, p.1042.
57. Nava Bhāratī, August, 1980, p.16.
58. Āndhra Vāṇomayāraṁbhadaśa, p.687.
59. Dakṣiṇa Bhārata Sāhityamulu, p.64.
60. Ibid.
61. Ibid., p.63.
62. Ibid.
63. Ibid.
64. Ibid.
65. Ibid.
66. Ibid., p.64.
67. Ibid.
68. Āndhra Vāṇomayāraṁbhadaśa, p.659.
69. Dakṣiṇa Bhārata Sāhityamulu, p.64.
70. Āndhra Vāṇomayāraṁbhadaśa, p.901.
71. Ibid.
72. Epi. Andhrīca, Vol. II, p.21.
73. Bhāratī, July, 1958, p.33.
74. Dakṣiṇa Bhārata Sāhityamulu, p.73.
75. His paper presented to the I.C.H.R. Seminar on 'Socio-Cultural History of South India from 12th Century to early 20th Century' held at Bangalore University on 24th February, 1983.
76. Āndhra Karnāṭaka Sārasvatamulu - Paraṣpara prabhāvam, p.61; Telugu Kavula Charitra, p.84.



77. Bhāratī, July, 1958, p.33.
78. Viññanadīpika, Vol. I, p.400.
79. Telugu-Dakṣiṇātvāsāhityamulu, p.36.
80. Āndhra Vāñcamavārambhadaśa, p.93.
81. Nava Bhāratī, April, 1978, p.7.
82. Āndhra Kavitarangini, Vol. VIII, p.226.
83. Prabandharatnāvalī, Introduction, p.27.
84. Telugu Kavula Charitra, p.83.
85. Nava Bhāratī, April, 1978, p.7.
86. Ibid.
87. Epi. Andhrīca, Vol. II, p.21.
This Kurkyāla record is otherwise known as Gaṅgādhara epigraph.
88. Epi. Andhrīca, Vol. II, p.21.
89. Ibid.
90. Āndhra Vāñcamavārambhadaśa, p.10.
91. Ibid., p.76.
92. Epi. Andhrīca, Vol. II, p.21.
93. Ibid., Vol. I, p.142.
94. Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Warangal District, p.81.
95. Bhāratī, Dec., 1981, p.10.
96. Āndhra Vāñcamavārambhadaśa, p.70.
97. Bhāratī, Aug., 1982, p.45.
98. Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Warangal District, p.81.
99. Telugu-Dakṣiṇātvāsāhityamulu, p.15; J.A.H.R.S., Vol. XI, p.129.
100. Kāvvalankārachūdāmaṇi, Ullāsa, 4, Verse, 25.



101. Bhāratī, May, 1958, p.88.
102. Pallavulu-Chālukyulu, p.241.
103. Āndhra Vāṇomavāraṁbhadaśa, p.657.
104. Ibid., p.1045.
105. Dakṣhiṇa Bhārata Sāhityamulu, p.63.
106. Āndhra Vāṇomavāraṁbhadaśa, p.1045.
107. The famous Telugu poet Nannechōḍa in his Kumārasāmbhava praised one Satyāśraya of the Chālukya family for his initiative in encouraging Telugu poetry in the Āndhra country. The identification of that Satyāśraya is still a matter of controversy. Chilukuri Veerabhadra Rao tried to identify him with Satyāśraya, the first king of the Jananāthapura branch. (A.S.P.P., Vol. X, p.17). But in the absence of evidence, we are not sure about such an identification.
108. S.I.I., Vol. VI, No.665; Epi. Andhrica, Vol. V, p.32.
109. Kāvvalankāra Chūdāmaṇi, Ullāsa 1, Verse 4.
110. E.I., Vol. V, p.32.
111. S.I.I., Vol. IV, No.1373-A.
112. Bhāratī, June, 1946, p.500.
113. Kāvvalankārachūdāmaṇi, Introduction, p.7.
114. Bhāratī, Nov., 1979, p.40. Previously Tadakamalla Venkata Krishna Rao suggested the name of this poet as Konaya; but later writers like N. Venkatarao (Bhāratī, June, 1946, p.500), C. Seshayya, (Āndhra Kavitarangini, Vol. IV, p.139), and Arudra (Samaṅga Āndhra Sāhityam, Vol. IV, p.16), noticed it as Dōnaya.
115. Bhāratī, June, 1946, p.500.
116. Sasyānandam, Āśvāsa, 1, verse, 14.
117. Ibid., Verse 7.
118. Ibid., āśvāsa, 2, verse 52.



119. Haravilāsam, asvasa, 2, verse 16.
120. Vikramārka-charitra, āśvāsa, 4, verse, 27.
121. Āndhra Kavitarangini, Vol. IV, p.147.
122. Sasvānandam, asvasa, 1, verse 42.
123. Bhārati, June, 1946, p.500.
124. Āndhra Kavitarangini, Vol. IV, p.145.
125. Bhārati, June, 1946, p.500.
126. Samaṅga Āndhra Sāhityam, Vol. IV, p.25.
N. Venkatarao (Bhārati, June, 1946, p.500) opined that there are some verses in 'Tiruvōja' and 'Akkara Taruvōja' metres in Sasvānandam. But Arudra noticed them as 'Mañjaridvipades'.
127. Samaṅga Āndhra Sāhityam, Vol. IV, p.26.
128. Ibid., p.27.
129. Kāvvalankārachūdāmaṇi, Introduction, p.7.
130. Ibid., p.8.
131. The name of this poet is frequently used by the Telugu literary critics as Peddāna. (Āndhra Kavitarangini, Vol. IV, p.233; Samaṅga Āndhra Sāhityam, Vol. IV, p.96, etc.). But it is not correct. In his work he talked of himself as 'Peddaya' only.
132. Kāvvalankārachūdāmaṇi, Ullāsa 1, verse 139.
133. Āndhra Kavula Charitra, p.185.
134. Bhārati, Dec., 1932, p.829.
135. E.I., Vol. XXX, p.335.
136. Kāvvalankārachūdāmaṇi, Introduction, p.4.
137. There is a reference to 'Kavitraya' in a verse from 'Vyākaraṇaprakaraṇa' of Kāvvalankārachūdāmaṇi. But that verse is not found in the manuscript located in the library of Andhra University; and hence writers like Vedam Venkataraya Sastry (Kāvvalankārachūdāmaṇi, Introduction p.6) doubted it as an interpolation of a later period.



138. Kāvvalankārachūdāmaṇi, Ullāsa, 3, verse 77.
139. Ibid., Ullāsa 9, Verse 172.
140. Ibid., Introduction, p.7.
141. Āndhra Kavula Charitra, Vol. III, p.147.
142. Kāvvalankārachūdāmaṇi, Ullāsa 6, Verse 63.
143. Samaṅga Āndhra Sāhityam, Vol. IV, p.99.
144. Kāvvalankārachūdāmaṇi, Introduction, p.5.
145. Āndhra Kavitarangini, Vol. IV, p.239.
146. Samaṅga Āndhra Sāhityam, Vol. IV, p.103.
147. In Kāvvalankārachūdāmaṇi, Peddaya did not state the Lakṣhaṇa of 'Yakṣhaṅga'. As Yakṣhaṅga was not so popular by that time, he might have ignored it.
148. Kāvvalankārachūdāmaṇi, Ullāsa 3, Verse 77.
149. Ibid., Ullāsa, 9, Verse, 5.
150. Ibid., Verse 7.
151. Bhāratī, Nov., 1979, p.45.
152. Cited by K. Viresalingam in Āndhra Kavula Charitra, Vol. I, p.287; and by V. Venkataraya Sastry in Kāvvalankārachūdāmaṇi, Introduction, p.2.
153. Āndhra Kavula Charitra, Vol.I, p.287.
154. Samaṅga Āndhra Sāhityam, Vol. IV, p.105.
155. Bhāratī, Nov., 1979, p.45.
156. Ibid., May, 1983, p.62.
157. Chātunadvamaṇiāri, p.115.
158. Ibid., p.112 and 113.
159. Ibid., p.112.
160. Bhāratī, May, 1983, p.30.



CONCLUSION

The role played by the Chālukya kings in the political and cultural fields made its impact directly or indirectly on the history of Āndhradēśa. As they ruled different territories of Āndhra at different times, they had a share in the repercussions that arose in the politics of medieval Āndhra. Like the māṇḍalikas or the Chieftains of that period, these families exercised their own independent authority in their areas of rule. They also owed allegiance at times to the more powerful imperial dynasties like the Rāshtrakūṭas in the case of the Vēmulaṇḍa Chiefs, Kākatiyas in the case of the Mudigōṇḍa family. The other families do not refer to any overlord, which fact indicates that there was no effective authority of the suzerains over them. They were dragged into the vortex of conflicts of superior powers. The chiefs of Vēmulaṇḍa and Mudigōṇḍa struggled hard for survival amidst the warfare between the mighty Rāshtrakūṭas and Chālukyas of Vēṅgī. The Chālukyas of Vēmulaṇḍa under Arikēsari I were deputed by their overlords, Rāshtrakūṭas, to carry on wars against Vēṅgī, in which they were successful. The Eastern Chālukyas seem to have befriended the chiefs of Mudigōṇḍa to check the Rāshtrakūṭa intrusions into Vēṅgī. Kusumāyudha I defeated the Rāshtrakūṭas and installed Chālukya Bhīma I on the Vēṅgī throne.



The prestige of the imperial families depended occasionally upon the valour of a minor chief. Narasimha II of Vemulavāḍa directed the campaign of the Rāshtrakūṭas upto the Gaṅga-Jamuna doab. The Eastern Gaṅga kings were assisted by the Chālukyas of Elamañchili like Kumāra Errama in the battle of Pañchadhārāla against a host of enemies like the Telugu-Chōlas and the Koppala chiefs.

One notable feature of the period is the matrimonial alliance between the Kākatiyas and the Chālukyas of Nidadavōlu. Kakati Rudramadevī was given in marriage to Chālukya Vīrabhadra. What considerations prompted this marriage of an imperial family with a local power like the Chālukyas of Nidadavōlu are not known. This did not result in the transfer of Kākatiya authority to Vīrabhadra. The reins of government remained in the hands of his Queen Rudrama, who inherited the Kākatiyas kingdom, contrary to custom.

A study of the political history of these families offers only one clear instance of a vassal rebelling against the imperial authority. This is the rebellion of Nāgatirāja against the Kākatiyas during the time of Mahādeva and early part of the rule of Gaṇapati, when the Kākatiya authority was at a low ebb.



It is in this period that the contacts between Telāṅgāṇa and Coastal Āndhra increased. There were, no doubt, conflicts between the two zones as is evidenced by the Vēṅgī-Malkhed relations. There were also cultural impacts as evidenced by the migration of the family of Pampa from Vaṅgiṇaṅṅu in Vēṅgī to Telāṅgāṇa. The Chālukyas of Nidadavōlu, in the later phase of their rule, migrated to Telāṅgāṇa and continued to rule till they were overpowered by the Rēcherlas.

In the field of religion, the Chiefs of Vēṅḡlavāḍa alone patronized Jainism in Āndhra. The other families were devoted to Lord Śiva; and a majority of the kings in these families constructed Śiva temples; but they were not only tolerant towards, not at the expense but respected, other religions. This was the period when the accent shifted from formalism to devotionism, i.e., from 'Karma-mārga' to 'Bhaktimārga'; and this can be seen in the extensive worship conducted in the temples with new additions like the 'Viśvanāthabhōga' in the Śrīkūrmam temple initiated by Chālukya Viśvanātha. Similarly in the literary sphere, these Chālukya rulers were responsible for ushering in the Kannada and Telugu literatures. It was their patronage that enriched not only Kannada and Telugu literatures but also of Sanskrit with valuable treatises and Kāvya. In fact, though these families held a minor status in the political life of Āndhra, they held a glorious position as patrons of literature and enriched it on a massive scale.



APPENDIX - I

CATALOGUE OF INSCRIPTIONS OF THE MINOR CHALUKYA FAMILIES

CHĀLUKYA FAMILY OF VĒMULAVĀDA

Sl. No.	Name of the king	Date	Provenance of the inscription	Reference	Contents of the Record
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	
1.	V(B)īragriha	--	Kuravagatta, Mahabubnagar District.	Kannada Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, No.29; The Chalukyas of L(V)emulavāda, p.81.	This record mentions the exploits of prince V(B)īragriha, son of Vinayāditya of the Chālukya family. It states that V(B)īragriha was a good friend of Gōvinda-vallabha, son of Kalivallabha of the Hāshtrakūta family.
2.	Arikēsari	--	Kollipara plates	Bhāratī, August, 1930, pp.297-318; The Chalukyas of L(V)emulavāda, pp.73-81.	This inscription registers the grant by king Arikēsari, son of Vinayāditya Yuddhamalla of the Chālukya family to Mugdhāsivāchārya. The exploits of the King's father, and other genealogical details are given. The characters of the record may be assigned to the middle of the ninth century. This is very much useful to know the early history of his family and the religious conditions of the period.

contd...

1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

3. Arikēsari --- Vēmula vāda, District. Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Karimnagar District, No.2; Kannada Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh; No.13; A.R.E. No.159 of 1946-47; J.A.H.R.S., Vol. VI, pp.169-192.

This record is of the time of king Arikēsari of the Chālukya family ruling in the Vēmula vāda region in the 9th Century. It registers a gift of land by the king at Vēmula vāda for maintaining a feeding house for the pilgrims visiting the temple of Sun-God. This record mentions the genealogy of the donor from his early ancestor Yuddhamalla Vinayāditya. Various achievements of these rulers and the political events of the period of Arikēsari are known from this record.

4. Arikēsari --- Kurkyāla, District. Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh; Karimnagar District, No.3; A.R.E. No.1. of 1966-67; Pallavulu-Chālukyulu, pp.257-260; Epi. Andhrica, Vol. II, pp.21-28.

This records the installation of the images of the first and last Jaina Tirthankaras and the construction of a basadi called Tribhuvanatilaka, a tank called Kavītāgunārnava and a garden named Madanavilāsa by Jina-vallabha, the younger brother of Pampa, the great Kannada poet and the author of Vikra-māriunavilayam and Adipurāna. This inscription furnishes valuable information regarding the origin and genealogy of the family of Pampa.

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|----|-------------------|----------------------------------|---|--|
| 1. | 2. | 3. | 4. | 5. |
| 5. | Baddega | Vēmulavāḍa, Karīmnaḡar District. | A.R.E., No.158 of 1946-47; <u>Ibid.</u> , No.169 of 1966; <u>Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Karīmnaḡar District, No.1.</u> , pp.1-5. | This records the construction of Subhadrāhāmājīnālaya by the king Baddega of the Chāḡlukya lineage, for the favour of the scholar Sōmadēva. Yuddhamāḡalla's name is also mentioned without stating any relationship to the donor-king. |
| 6. | Arikēsari A.D.946 | Karīmnaḡar, District. | A.R.E., No.46 of 1969; <u>Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Karīmnaḡar District, No.1.</u> , pp.1-5. | This record mentions the gift of wet land to a Brāhmaṇa. The genealogy of the king Arikēsari and the various epithets are mentioned. The five introductory verses of the record are noticeable in Pampa's <u>Vikramārluṇa-vijayam</u> . |
| 7. | Arikēsari A.D.966 | Parabhaṇi Plates | A.R.E., C.P. No.33 of 1961-62; <u>The Chāḡlukyas of L(V) Vēmulavāḍa</u> , pp.92-98 | This registers the gift of the village Vāṇikaṭupulu by Arikēsari of the Chāḡlukya family, whose genealogy is given. He is described as a feudatory of the Rāshṭrakūṭa King. The donee was Sōmadēvasūri, the author of <u>Yasōdharacharitra</u> . This gift was made for the purpose of worship in, and repairs to, the Subhadrāhāmājīnālaya constructed by the donor's father Baddega at Vēmulavāḍa. |

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1. 2.

3.

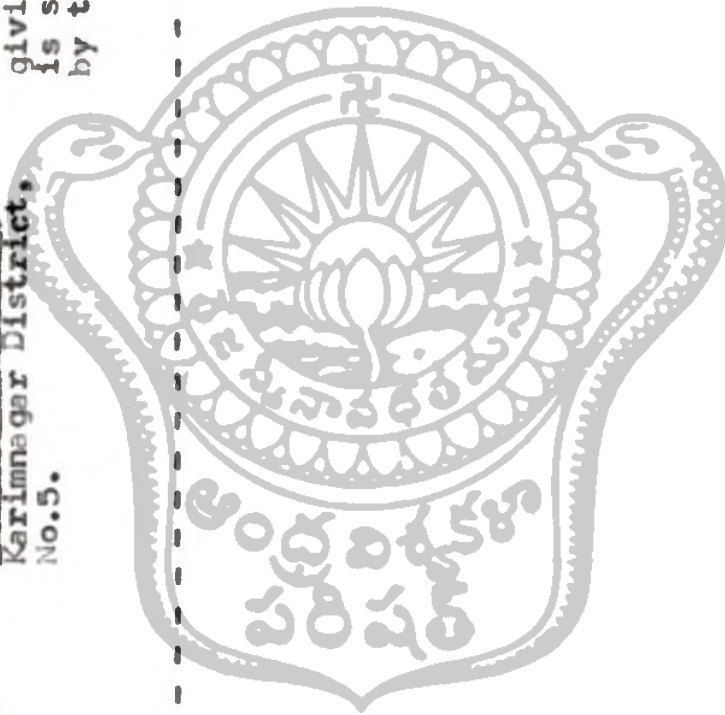
4.

5.

8. Arikēsari A.D. 968 Rēpāka,
Karīmnaḡar District.

A.R.E., No.192 of
1965; Inscriptions
of Andhra Pradesh,
Karīmnaḡar District,
No.5.

This is a damaged inscription which records the gift of lands to a Jinaḡaya by a chief Vujaya. After giving a line of Jaina ascetics it is said that the temple was built by the king Arikēsari.



CHĀLUKYA FAMILY OF MUDIGONDA

Sl. No.	Name of the King	Date	Provenance of the Inscription	Reference	Contents of the Record
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
1.	Niravadya	—	Koravi, Warangal District.	Early Telugu Inscriptions, No. 87; Epigraphica, Vol. I, pp. 142-145; Telugu Sasanālu, pp. 48-72; Bhārati, April, 1981, pp. 5-16.	This is an inscription of Peddana of the period of king Niravadya. This speaks of the exploits of Kusumāyudha and the rule of Gonaga, the father and brother of Niravadya respectively. These three kings belong to the period of Chālukya Bhīma of Vēṅgi. It is stated that Niravadya set up the present epigraph in order to maintain the privileges granted by his own brother Gonaga to Koravi; and that he also built Bhīmeśvara temple and a tank etc. The remaining part of the record speaks of penalties for violation of privileges levied by Gonaga. This is an important inscription to know the political and administrative details of the family. It helps in tracing the relations between the Rāshṭrākūṭas and the Chālukyas of Vēṅgi.
2.	Baddega	A.D. 940	Chennūr, Nizamabad District.	A.R.E. No. 1. of 1959-60; A.P.A.R.E. No. 1 of 1967.	This inscription records a grant of an <u>agrahāra</u> by Baddega, son of Guṇagarsa of the Chālukya family and a subordinate of Arikēsari of the Chālukya family of Vēmulaṅḍa.

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533

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6.

3. Guṇaḡarasa A.D. 1004 Nārāyaṇagiri, Waraṅgaḡ District. A.R.E. No.348 of 1966; Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Waraṅgaḡ District, p.18.

4. Kusumāyudha IV -- --do-- --do--
Mogaluchervulu grant I.A., Vol. XXXII, pp.282-284.

6. Kusumāditya -- --do-- --do--
Kriwaka grant Enl. Andhrīca, Vol. II, pp.39-49; Bhārati, Nov., 1979. P.32.

This record states that while the king Guṇaḡarasa entitled 'Ekkaḡasāḡa', 'mahāsamantādhipati' and 'Satyāsāraḡa kulāṇvaḡa' was ruling the kingdom, his subordinate granted some gift to God Mallikārjuna.

This record mentions eight generations of rulers of this family beginning from the founder Kokkī-rāja. This registers a grant of the village of Mogaluchervulu to a Brāhmaṇa. The editor of the grant assigns the grant to 11th Century A.D. on palaeographical grounds.

This record mentions six generations of rulers belonging to the Chāḡuka family of Mudigonda. The mythical genealogy as well as the epithets of some of these rulers are given. This refers to the disaster in the first regnal year of Kusumāditya, and the tactful role of his ministers who protected him and the kingdom. This grant registers the various honours conferred on them by Kusumāditya. The characters of the record are of the end of the 12th Century A.D.



1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6.

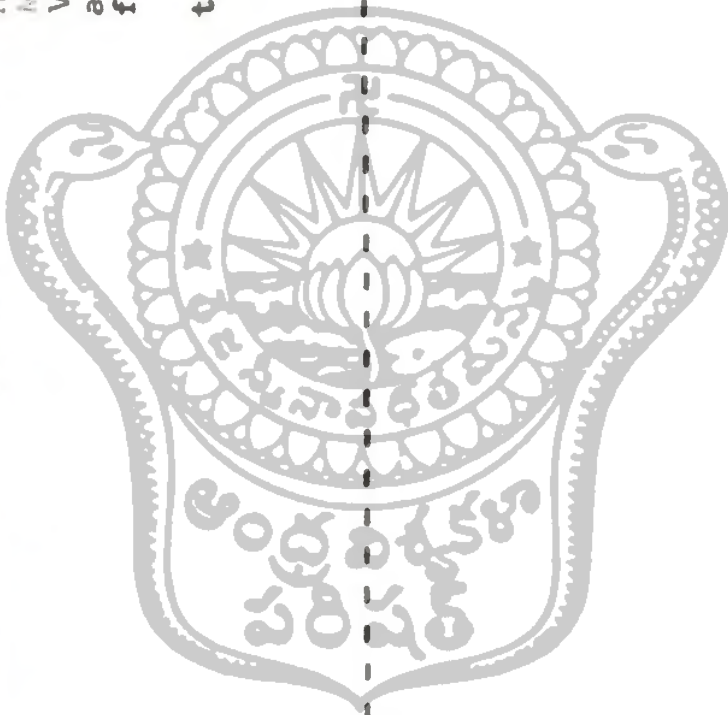
7. Boṭṭu Śrīrāma-
bhadrā Rāju

Śrīkākulam,
Krishna District.

S.I.I., Vol. IV,
No. 961.

This is a short, damaged inscrip-
tion of Boṭṭu Śrīrāma**bhadra Rāju**.
His epithets like Vinīta**janāśraya**,
Mā**rbalākēseri** and Koravī**pura**
Varādhīś**vara** indicate that he was
a descendant of the Chālu**kya**
family of Mu**dugonḍa**.

This is the latest reference
to the chiefs of Mu**dugonḍa**.



CHĀLUKYAS OF JANANĀTHAPURA

Sl. No.	Name of the King	Date	Provenance of the inscription	Reference	Contents of the Record
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
1.	Vijayāditya	2nd year	Drākshārāma, East Godavari District.	A.R.E., No. 352 of 1893; S.I.I., Vol. IV, No. 1243.	This record of Vishnuvardhana Vijayāditya mentions the royal order on land taxes in Mallīśvara mahādēva peṭṭana. He issued this from his camp Niravadyavrōlu.
2.	Vishnuvardhana	A.D. 1128 (2nd year)	--do--	A.R.E., No. 312 of 1893; S.I.I., Vol. IV, No. 1191.	This record mentions the grant of a lamp by Rājāladēvī, a queen of the Gaṅga emperor Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, to God Bhīmēśvara.
3.	--do--	--do--	--do--	A.R.E., No. 313 of 1893; S.I.I., Vol. IV, No. 1192.	This record mentions the grant of a lamp by Padmāladēvī, a queen of the Gaṅga emperor Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, to God Bhīmēśvara.
4.	--do--	--do--	--do--	A.R.E., No. 315 of 1893; S.I.I., Vol. IV, No. 1197.	This record mentions the grant of a lamp by Lakshmidēvī the mother of Lilāvātīdēvī, a queen of the Gaṅga emperor Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, to God Bhīmēśvara.
5.	--do--	--do--	--do--	A.R.E., No. 315-A of 1893; S.I.I., Vol. IV, No. 1198.	This record mentions the grant of a lamp by Kalyānādēvī, a queen of the Gaṅga emperor Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, to God Bhīmēśvara.

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
6.	Vishṇuvardhana	A.D. 1128 (2nd year)	Drākshārāma, East Godavari District.	A.R.E., No. 316 of 1893; <u>S.I.I.</u> , Vol. IV, No. 1195.	This record mentions the grant of a lamp by Sriyādevī, a queen of the Gaṅga emperor Anantavarma Chōḍagaṅgaḍa, to God Bhīmēśvara.
7.	-do-	-do-	-do-	A.R.E., No. 317 of 1893; <u>S.I.I.</u> , Vol. IV, No. 1196.	This record mentions the grant of a lamp by Lilāvatidevī, a queen of the Gaṅga emperor Ananta- varman Chōḍagaṅgaḍa, to God Bhīmēśvara.
8.	-do-	-do-	-do-	A.R.E., No. 314 of 1893; <u>S.I.I.</u> , Vol. IV, No. 1193.	This record mentions the gift of lamp to God Bhīmēśvara by a minister of king of Malaya, in the reign of Vishṇuvardhana.
9.	-do-	-do-	-do-	A.R.E., No. 318 of 1893.	This is an inscription of the Chālūkyā king Vishṇuvardhana. This mentions the gift of lamp.
10.	-do-	A.D. 1129 (4th year)	-do-	A.R.E., No. 303 of 1893; <u>S.I.I.</u> , Vol. IV, No. 1177.	This record mentions the gift of lamp to God Bhīmēśvara, by a chief Sūraparāju entitled 'Chālūkyā Samuddharana', in the reign of Vishṇuvardhana.
11.	-do-	-do-	-do-	A.R.E., No. 299 of 1893; <u>S.I.I.</u> , Vol. IV, No. 1170.	This record mentions the gift of lamp to God Bhīmēśvara, by a chief Bhīmnāyaka brother of Boddināyaka in the reign of Vishṇuvardhana.

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1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
12.	Vishnuvardhana A.D. 1141 (15th year)	Juttiga, West Godavari District.	A.R.E., No. 743 of 1920; S.I.I., Vol. X, No. 110. <u>Historical Inscriptions of Southern India.</u> Sewell, p. 104.	This record mentions the gift of lamp to God Vāsukiravi Sōmēśvaramahādeva, in the period of Vishnuvardhana.	
13.	-do- 17th year	-do-	A.R.E., No. 748 of 1920; S.I.I., Vol. X, No. 13. <u>Historical Inscriptions of Southern India.</u> Sewell, p. 105.	This record mentions the gift of lamp to God Vāsukiravi Sōmēśvaramahādeva in the period of Vishnuvardhana.	
14.	-do- -do-	-do-	A.R.E., No. 746 of 1920; S.I.I., Vol. X, No. 14.	This record mentions the gift of lamp to God Vāsukiravi Sōmēśvaramahādeva, in the period of the king Vishnuvardhana	
15.	A.D. 1145 (?1st year)	Rajahmundry, East Godavari District.	A.R.E., No. 41 of 1912; S.I.I., Vol. X, No. 116; <u>V.H.</u> , Vol. II, Godāvari, No. 79.	This record belongs to the period of king Vishnuvardhana. This relates to a gift of lamp by a merchant of Penugonda to God Virabhadreśvara of Paṭṭisam.	
16.	-do- (2) 5th year	Bhīmavaram, East Godavari District.	A.R.E., No. 337 of 1919; S.I.I., Vol. X, No. 17.	This is an incomplete inscrip- tion of the period of Vishnu- vardhana mentioning the gift of lamp to God Chālukya Bhīmēśvara.	

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1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
17.	Vishnuvardhana	(2) 5th year	Bhīmavaram, East Godavari District.	A.R.E., No. 336 of 1919; S.I.I., Vol. X, No. 18.	This is an incomplete inscription of the period of Vishnuvardhana mentioning the gift of lamp to God Chālukya Bhīmeśvara.
18.	Vīranarēndra	A.D. 1176	-do-	A.R.E., No. 474 of 1893; S.I.I., Vol. V, No. 61; V.R., Vol. II; Godavari, No. 33; <u>Historical Inscriptions of Southern India</u> , Sewell, p. 119.	This record mentions the grant of lamps to God Rājanārāyaṇa by prince Vīranarēndra. He was the son of Vijayāditya and Lakshmi, and grand-son of Malla.
19.	Narēndra	(Date not clear)	Drāksharāma, East Godavari District.	A.R.E., No. 440-A of 1893; S.I.I., Vol. IV, No. 1373-A.	This is a record of Narēndra, son of Vijayāditya and Lakshmi. The details are not clear.
20.	Mallapadēva	A.D. 1176	Bhīmavaram, East Godavari District.	A.R.E., No. 487 of 1893; S.I.I., Vol. V, No. 91.	This is an inscription of Sarvalōkāśraya Vishnuvardhana Mallapa, which mentions his gift of land to God Rājanārāyaṇa.
21.	-do-	A.D. 1177 3rd year	Bhīmavaram, East Godavari District.	A.R.E., No. 486 of 1893; S.I.I., Vol. V, No. 90; V.R., Vol. II; Godavari, No. 45; <u>Historical Inscriptions of Southern India</u> , Sewell, p. 121.	This record of Vishnuvardhana Mallapa mentions his gift of land to God Rājanārāyaṇa.

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1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6.

22. Vishnuvardhana A.D. 1177
4th year

Drākshārāma, A.R.E., No.297 of
East Godavari 1893; S.I.I., Vol. IV,
District. No.1168.

This record mentions the gift by the minister of Vēngi Gonka to Bhīmēśvara. In this, the Chāḷukya king Vishnuvardhana was acknowledged.

23. Malla

A.D. 1177

Bhīmavaram, A.R.E., No.481-A of
East Godavari 1893; S.I.I., Vol. V,
District. No.70.

This inscription mentions the grant of Land to God Rājanārāyaṇa by king Malla.

24. Vishnuvardhana A.D. 1179

Edārupa 111
grant. Bhāratī, 1968,
January, pp.3-28.

This is a re-issued grant of king Vishnuvardhana of the Bēta-Vijayāditya's line. The original grant given by Mukkaṇṭi Kādvettī is stated to have become mutilated or decayed in the long passage of time. The descendants of the donees mentioned in the original grant requested the king Vishnuvardhana to issue the grant. Vishnuvardhana issued it and the grant of Edārupalle is mentioned in this record. The record starts with the Puranic and mythical genealogies of the family of the donor king (re-issuer) of the grant, Vishnuvardhana. Historical genealogy and the important dates of coronation of two kings of this dynasty are also given. Person

of different professions like cultivators, gardeners, potters, goldsmiths, blacksmiths, washerman etc., were mentioned.

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1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
25.	Vishnuvardhana	A.D. 1179 2nd year	Drākshārāma, East Godavari District.	<u>A.R.E.</u> , No. 363 of 1893; <u>S.I.I.</u> , Vol. IV, No. 1261.	This is a record of the period of Vishnuvardhana mentioning a gift of lamp to God Bhīmēśvara.
26.	-do-	A.D. 1183 9th year	Bhīmavaram, East Godavari District.	<u>A.R.E.</u> , No. 485 of 1893; <u>S.I.I.</u> , Vol. V, No. 89.	This inscription mentions the gift of lamp to God Rājanārāyana in the reign of Vishnuvardhana.
27.	-do-	A.D. 1183 10th year	-do-	<u>A.R.E.</u> , No. 479 of 1893; <u>S.I.I.</u> , Vol. V, No. 67; <u>V.R.</u> , Vol. II, Godavari No. 38; <u>Historical Inscrip- tions of Southern India</u> , Sewell, p. 127.	This record mentions the gift of Lamp to God Rājanārāyana in the reign of Vishnuvardhana.
28.	-do-	A.D. 1185 6th year	Drākshārāma, East Godavari District.	<u>A.R.E.</u> , No. 320 of 1893; <u>S.I.I.</u> , Vol. IV, No. 1201.	This record mentions the gift of lamp to God Bhīmēśvara by king Vishnuvardhana. It seems he belonged to the family of Chālukya Vijayāditya.
29.	-do-	A.D. 1187	Juttiga, West Godavari District.	<u>A.R.E.</u> , No. 739 of 1920; <u>S.I.I.</u> , Vol. X, No. 203.	This is an inscription of Sarva- lōkāsraya Vishnuvardhana. The contents of the record is illegible.
30.	-do-	A.D. 1201 9th year	Sarpavaram, East Godavari District.	<u>A.R.E.</u> , No. 455 of 1893; <u>S.I.I.</u> , Vol. V, No. 8; <u>V.R.</u> , Vol. II, Godavari, No. 52; <u>Historical Inscrip- tions of Southern India</u> , Sewell, p. 128.	This is an inscription of the period of king Vishnuvardhana. This records the gift of lamp by a merchant.

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1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
31.	Mallapadēva	A.D. 1201 9th year	Bhīmavaram, East Godavari District.	A.R.E., No.489 of 1893; S.I.I., Vol. V, No.93.	This is an incomplete record mentions that it was given by Mallapadēva, the son of Vijayā- ditya and Lakshmidēvi.
32.	-do-	A.D. 1202	Pithāpuram, East Godavari District.	A.R.E., No.492 of 1893; E.I., Vol. IV, p.226; V.R., Vol. II, Godavari, No.65; M. Rama Rao, Inscrip- tions of Andhradesa, Vol. II, Part I, p.178.	This inscription records a grant by a chief who claims to be a descendant of Bēta Vijayā- ditya, the seventeenth king of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty. The Document opens with a complete genealogy of the Eastern Chālukyas, consisting of a long string of mythical, legendary and historical ancestors. The genealogy of the branch founded by Bēta Vijayāditya is also given.
33.	Vishnuvardhana	A.D. 1205	Madras Museum Plates (or Chandravūri grant)	A.R.E., No.10 of 1916-17.	This registers the gift of a village Gudivāḍa to God Kuntī- Mādhava by Mallapa dēva on the occasion of his coronation.
					This is an inscription of Vishnuvardhana, son of Vijayā- ditya. This mentions the gift of the village named 'Chandravūru' in Chengūrunānti-vishaya to 130 Brāhmins by the chief Mahādēva, whose father was another Vishnu- vardhana of the solar race. This grant is very much useful to know the details of the Chālukya branch of Jananāthapura.

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1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
34.	Vishnuvardhana	A.D. 1218	Drākshārāma, East Godavari District.	A.R.E., No. 338-A of 1893; S.I.I., Vol. IV, No. 1221.	This is a damaged inscription of the period of Sarvalōkāśraya Vishnuvardhana. This mentions the gift of lamps to God by a servant of the king.
35.	Udayachandra- dēva	A.D. 1223	Bhīmavaram, East Godavari District.	A.R.E., No. 483 of 1893; S.I.I., Vol. V, No. 84.	This records the grant of land to God Rājanārāyaṇa by king Udayachandradēva entitled Sarvalōkāśraya Vishnuvardhana.
36.	-do-	A.D. 1225	Drākshārāma, East Godavari District.	A.R.E., No. 198 of 1893; S.I.I., Vol. IV, No. 1025.	This record mentions the gift of lamp to God Bhīmēśvara by Udayachandradēva, son of Goṇaga entitled Sarvalōkāśraya Vishnuvardhana.
37.	Chandraśekhara	A.D. 1226	-do-	A.R.E., No. 369-H of 1893; S.I.I., Vol. IV, No. 1275-B.	This record belongs to the period of Vishnuvardhana Chandraśekhara. This mentions the gift of lamp to God Bhīmē- śvara by a servant of the king.
38.	Vishnuvardhana	A.D. 1229 4th year	-do-	A.R.E., No. 439 of 1893; S.I.I., Vol. IV, No. 1372.	This record of the period of king Vishnuvardhana mentions the gift of 'a fly-whisk with golden handle' by a private individual.

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1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6.

39. Goṇaga A.D. 1234

Drākshārāma, A.R.E. No.195-A
East Godavari of 1893; S.I.I.,
District. Vol.IV, No.1022.

This record mentions the gift of king Goṇaga, son of Gengāmbā on the occasion of the marriage to God Bhīmēśvara. The portion relating to the gift, and the name of the donor are damaged.

40. Vishṇuvardhana 39th year

Bhīmavaram, A.R.E. No.482-B of
East Godavari 1893; S.I.I., Vol. V
District. No.75.

This record belongs to the period of Sarvalōkāśraya Vishṇuvardhana. This mentions the gift of lamp by a private individual to God Rājanārāyaṇa.



41. Śrīsēna
Sārathi

Godavari, C.P. No.77 of Sewall's
District. list (cited in Vol. II,
Vol. II, Godavari
District).

This is a grant by Śrīsēnasārathi, a chief of Bēta Vijayāditya line. It is said that between him and Mallapa III, there were four chiefs named - Bhūpa, Pratāpa Bhūdhara, Vishṇuvardhana and Mahādēva. This is very useful to know the details of the later rulers of the family of the Bēta Vijayāditya line.

CHALUKYA FAMILY OF ELAMAŪCHILI

Sl. No.	Name of the King	Date	Provenance of the Inscription	Reference	Contents of the Record
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
1.	Upēndradēva	A.D. 1253	Drākshārāma, East Godavari District.	A.R.E., No. 438 of 1893; S.I.I., Vol. IV, No. 1371.	This record mentions the grant by Upēndradēva, entitled Sarvalōkāśraya and Vishṇu-wardhana for the merit of his father Mallapadēva, to God Bhīmēśvara. In this inscription he acknowledges Rājādhirā as his suzerain.
-do-	-do-	A.D. 1259	Pālakollu, West Godavari District.	A.R.E., No. 517-B of 1893; S.I.I., Vol. V, No. 141.	This is an inscription of Śrī Vishṇuvarhdhana Upēndradēva that mentions his gift of Lamp to the Kshīrārāma temple.
3.	Lakshmīdēvī	A.D. 1226	Simhāchalām, Visakhapatnam District.	A.R.E., No. 241 of 1899; S.I.I., Vol. VI, No. 692.	This is an inscription of Lakshmīdēvī, wife of certain Mangirāja. This mentions her gift of two lamps which were given for the merit of her son Upēndrarāja. It also records the gift of the village Maṇapa in the pākanāṭigaṭṭu.

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1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
4.	Upēndradēva	A.D. 1283	Simhachalam, Visakhapatnam District.	A.R.E., No.299 of 1899; S.I.I. Vol. VI, No.934.	This record mentions the gift of two lamps, by a Chālukya king Upēndradēva and by his mother Chōdamahādēvi, to God Nrisimha. It is said that Chōdamahādēvi was the queen of Mallapadēva, entitled Chālukya Kulabhūshana, Sarvalōkāśraya and Vishnuvardhana.
5.	Manglirāja	A.D. 1288	Drāksharāma, East Godavari District.	A.R.E., No.209-B of 1893; S.I.I. Vol. IV, No.1038.	This inscription records the grant of Golden flowers and silver bells by Manglirāja, son of Upēndradēva, to Nandiśvara of the Bhīmesvara temple. In this record he acknowledges Rājādhirāja's rule. The date portion and the last sentences are damaged.
6.	Rājanārāyaṇa	A.D. 1316	Pālakollu, West Godavari District.	A.R.E., No.516-D of 1893; S.I.I. Vol. V, No.1138.	This is an inscription of Rājanārāyaṇa, son of Sarva- lōkāśraya Vishnuvardhana. This mentions his constructions of 'Sanivāra maṇḍapa' and gifts of weekly rice and rice for Dipāvai festivals to the God Koppēsvara of Kshīrārāma.

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1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
7.	Upēndradēva	A.D. 1356	Simhāchalām, Visakhapatnam District.	A.R.E., No.294 of 1899; <u>S.I.I., Vol. VI,</u> No.910.	This record mentions the gift of a lamp and a garland to God Nrisimha by Upēndradēva entitled Sarvalōkāśraya Vishnuvardhana.
8.	Chennēśvara	A.D. 1372	--do--	<u>S.I.I., Vol. VI,</u> No.921.	This record mentions the gift of a lamp by Mummādāmbā, the queen of Chennēśvara to God Narasimha. This was given for the merit of her son Upēndradēva.
9.	Viśvēśvara	A.D. 1377	--do--	<u>S.I.I., Vol. VI,</u> No.840.	This is an inscription of king Viśvēśvara, entitled Sarva- lōkāśraya and Vishnuvardhana, which registers his offerings to God Narasimha. His wife was Manumayadēvi, and this couple made these grants to maintain bhogas like <u>tirumāla</u> and <u>tirumanjanam</u> .
10.	Lakkamadēvī	A.D. 1388	--do--	A.R.E., No.296-D of 1899; <u>S.I.I., Vol. VI,</u> No.916.	This record mentions the gift of land by Ambikādēvī, daughter of Lakkamadēvī to God Nara- simha. This Lakkamadēvī is identified as the mother of Viśvēśvara.

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1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
11.	Chōḍagaṅga dēva	A.D. 1391	Siṁhāchalām, Visakhapatnam District.	A.R.E., No.249 of 1899; <u>S.I.I.</u> Vol. VI, No.705.	This is an inscription of Elamañchi Chōḍagaṅga entitled Sarvalōkāśraya and Vishṇu- vardhana mentioning his gifts to God Nṛisimha.
12.	Viśvēśvara	A.D. 1401	-do-	<u>S.I.I.</u> Vol. VI, No.919.	This is an inscription of Elamañchi Viśvēśvara entitled Sarvalōkāśraya Vishṇuvardhana mentioning his installation of Garuḍa pillar made of iron in the temple of Narasimha.
13.	-do-	A.D. 1407	Pañchadhāra la, Visakhapatnam District.	A.R.E., No.216 of 1899; <u>S.I.I.</u> Vol. VI, No.665.	This is an inscription of the Chālukya king Viśvēśvara which mentions the genealogy of the king and his construc- tion of Kalyāṇamandapa to God Dharmalingēśvara.
14.	Nāgendra dēva	A.D. 1417	-do-	A.R.E., No.209 of 1899; <u>S.I.I.</u> Vol. VI, No.656.	This is a record of Anyamadēvi, queen of Nāgēndradēva who bore the title Vishṇuvardhana. This refers to the gift of lamp to God Dharmalingēśvara.
15.	Nṛisimha	A.D. 1422	-do-	A.R.E., No.218 of 1899; <u>S.I.I.</u> Vol. VI, No.667.	This is an inscription of the Chālukya king Narasimhadēva. This mentions several gifts made by him and his queen Virāmba to God Dharmalingēśvara

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1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
16.	Nṛsiṃha	A.D. 1428	Panchadhara la, Visakhapatnam, District.	A.R.E., No.214 of 1899, <u>S.I.I.</u> , Vol. VI, No.662.	This is an inscription of Chālukya Narasiṃha who bore the titles Sarva lōkāśraya and Vishṇuvardhana. This mentions the genealogy of this branch and records that the queen Virāmbā built a tank called Virasāgara and the king himself built the antaṛālamandana in the temple of Dharmēśvara.
17.	Kumāra Errama	A.D. 1430	-do-	A.R.E., No.215 of 1899; <u>S.I.I.</u> , Vol. VI, No.663.	This is an inscription of Kumāra Errama, who is described as belonging to the lunar race and as the son of Nāgēndradēva. This mentions the gift of the lamp to God Dharmalingēśvara.
18.	Narasimhadēva	A.D. 1437	-do-	A.R.E., No.219 of 1899; <u>S.I.I.</u> , Vol. VI, No.668.	This record mentions the gift of land by one Chālukya king Narasimhadēva entitled Sarva lōkāśraya Vishṇuvardhana to the god Dharmalingēśvara.
19.	Singarāja	A.D. 1494	-do-	A.R.E., No.213 of 1899; <u>S.I.I.</u> , Vol. VI, No.661.	This record mentions the gift of land for the merit of his parents Kumāra Errama and Singamāmba by Singarāja-mahāpātra of the Chālukya family to God Dharmēśvara.

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1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
20.	Sarvarāja	A.D. 1525	Sīmhāchalām, Visakhapatnam District.	A.R.E., No. 246 of 1899; S.I.I. Vol. VI, No. 698.	This mentions the gift of a village by Sarvalōkāsraya Vishnuvardhana alias Bēhāra <u>maḥāpātra</u> Sarvarāja to God Nṛisīṃha.
21.	Śrīdhararāja- narēndra	A.D. 1530	Pañchadhārālā, Visakhapatnam District.	A.R.E., No. 220 of 1899; S.I.I. Vol. VI, No. 669.	This is an inscription of Śrīdhararājanarēndra <u>maḥāpātra</u> , which mentions the construction of a <u>gōpura</u> in the temple of Dharmēśvara.
22.	Harinarēndra	A.D. 1538	-do-	A.R.E., No. 221 of 1899; S.I.I. Vol. VI, No. 671.	This is a record of Harinarēndra who bore the titles Sarva- lōkāsraya Vishnuvardhana and who was the son of Chālūkyā Sarvarāja- <u>maḥāpātra</u> . This mentions his construction of a <u>maḥāpātra</u> in the temple of Dharmēśa for the merit of his parents.

LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS OF THE CHĀLUKYAS OF NĪDĀVĀLŪ

Sl. No.	Name of the King	Date	Provenance of the inscription	Reference	Contents of the Record
1.	Vēṅgīśvara	A.D. 1078	Juttiga, West Godavari District.	V.R., Vol. II, No. 345.	This refers to a grant by "the eldest daughter of Vēṅgīśvara".
2.	Vēṅgī Malla	Damaged (S. 10--)	Drākshārāma, East Godavari District.	A.R.E., No. 232 of 1893; S.I.I. Vol. IV, No. 1076.	This record mentions the gift of lamp to God Bhīmēśvara by the queen of Vēṅgī Malla. The middle portion of the inscription is damaged.
3.	Vēṅgī Ayyapadēva	A.D. 1141	Tadikālapūdi, Krishna District.	A.R.E., No. 538-A of 1893; S.I.I. Vol. V, No. 207.	This inscription mentions the gift of lamps to God Mahādēva by Vēṅgī Ayyapadēva for the merit of his parents.
4.	Malla	A.D. 1149	Drākshārāma, East Godavari District.	A.R.E., No. 260 of 1893; S.I.I. Vol. IV, No. 1116.	This record mentions the gift of two lamps to God Bhīmēśvara by Mallarāja for the merit of his father Vēṅgīśvara. Some portions of this inscription are damaged.
5.	Vēṅgī Bayyapadēva	A.D. 1150	Bezwaḍa, Krishna District.	A.R.E., No. 318 of 1892; S.I.I. Vol. IV, No. 771.	This inscription refers to the gift of lamp to God Mallēśvara by Bayyapadēva mahārāja of Peda Vēṅgī.

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1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
6.	Gōkarāja	A.D. 1174	Gaṇapavaram, West Godavari District.	<u>A.R.E., No. 308 of 1920;</u> <u>S.I.I. Vol. X, No. 191.</u>	This record states that Vēṅgī Mallidēvarāja's son Gōkarāja who belonged to the lunar race and of Mānavyasagōtṛa, made a gift of 30 cows for the up-keep of lamp in the temple of Svarnēśvara of Padminipura.
7.	Vishṇuvardhana	A.D. 1177 (4th regnal year)	Drākshārāma, East Godavari District.	<u>A.R.E., No. 297 of 1893;</u> <u>S.I.I. Vol. IV, No. 1168.</u>	This inscription mentions the gift of lamp to God Shīmēśvara by Tripurāntaka Pṛeggaḍa, the minister of Vēṅgī Gōkarāja. The rule of one Sarvalōkāśraya Vishṇuvardhana is acknowledged in this.
8.	Vēṅgī Gōkarāja	A.D. 1180	Rajamundry, East Godavari District.	<u>A.R.E., No. 36 of 1912;</u> <u>V.R. Vol. II, No. 74.</u>	This inscription records the gift of 30 buffaloes for the up-keep of a lamp in the temple of Virabhadṛēśvara-mahādēva.
9.	Ayyapadēva	A.D. 1193	Telikicherla, West Godavari District.	<u>A.R.E., No. 280 of 1930-31.</u>	This inscription registers the grant of the village of Badiseḷapūṇḍi by the king for the worship and offerings in the temple. (Some portion of the record is in a damaged state).

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1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
10.	Vēṅgī Goṅka	A.D. 1196	Drākshārāma, East Godavari District.	A.R.E., No.337 of 1893; <u>S.I.I.</u> Vol. IV, No.1218.	This records the gift of 50 he-buffaloes for the up-keep of a lamp in the temple of Bhīmēsa by Valyama, in the period of Vēṅgī Goṅka entitled Manyasiṁha, son of Mallaparāja.
11.	Vēṅgī Mahā- dēvarāja	A.D. 1208	Tadikalapūdi, Krishna District.	A.R.E., No.536 of 1893; <u>S.I.I.</u> Vol. V, No.203.	This refers to a gift of lamp by a servant of Vēṅgī Mahādēvarāja to God Haruṇīśvara Mahādēva.
12.	--do--	Undated	Bezwaḍa, Krishna District.	A.R.E., No.280 of 1892; <u>S.I.I.</u> Vol. IV, No.735.	This inscription mentions the gift of lamp to God Mallēśvara Mahādēva of Vijayawada by a king named Vēṅgī Mahādēva who belonged to lunar race and of Mānavasa- gōtra.
13.	Manma Goṅka	A.D. 1230	Telikicherla, West Godavari District.	A.R.E. No.275 of 1930-31.	This inscription mentions the construction of a temple of Nārāyaṇēsa at Telikicheruvu with a gōpura, maṇḍapa and prākāra by Nārāyaṇamantri, the minister of the king. This also refers to his gift of a golden pinnacle to the temple, and the <u>prasaṣṭi</u> of his family.

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1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
14.	Mahādeva	A.D. 1233	Bezwada, Krishna District.	A.R.E., No.281 of 1892; <u>S.I.I.</u> Vol. IV, No.736.	This record states that Mahādeva, who belonged to lunar race described as the son of Goṅka, grandson of Maḷla and great grandson of Vēṅgiśvara, made a gift of lamp to God Maḷlēsvara for the merit of his father.
15.	Gaṇapati	A.D. 1237	Bezwada, Krishna District.	A.R.E., No.140 of 1897; <u>S.I.I.</u> Vol. VI, No.06.	This record begins with Goṅka, who was the lord of Vēṅgi one thousand country; his son was Ayyapaḍeva who married Mupnala-mahādevi and their son was Gaṇapati. This mentions the gift of cows for the up-keep of a lamp in the temple of Maḷlēsvara-mahādeva of Vijayawada for the merit of Vēṅgi Ayyapaḍeva.
16.	Vēṅgiśvara	A.D. 1238	Dendu lūru, West Godavari District.	A.R.E., No.113-A of 1902; <u>S.I.I.</u> Vol. VII, No.737.	This inscription records the construction of a temple with a maṇḍapa attached to it and the consecration of Liṅga by minister Vēṅga with the permission of his over-lord Vēṅgiśvara, who was the son of Mahāmaṇḍalēsvara Mahādeva rāja of the Lunar race and of Śrīdēvi.
17.	Vishnuvardhana	A.D. 1247	Iragavaram, West Godavari District.	V.R. Vol. II, No.344.	This record refers to a grant by the minister of one Sarva-lōkāśraya Vishnuvardhana Mahārāja.

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
18.	Vēṅgiśvara	A.D. 1250	Kumārādēvam, West Godavari District.	<u>A.R.E.,</u> 1935-36.	This is a badly damaged record and seems to register a gift of 50 cows to the temple (name lost). Refers to Vēṅgiśvararāja of Vēṅgi and Gaṇapati in Malaya.
19.	Mahādēva Chakravartī	A.D. 1255	Juttiga, West Godavari District.	<u>A.R.E.,</u> No. 745 of 1920; <u>S.I.I.</u> Vol. X, No. 348.	This record states the construction of Karavāla bhairava maṇṭapa in the temple of Vāsukirav Sōmēśvara of Duttika by a Bhaṇḍārī and his son for the merit of mahādēva Chakravartī. In this inscription the rule of one Sarvalōkāśraya Viṣṇuvardhana is acknowledged.
20.	Viṣṇuvardhana Vijayāditya.	A.D. 1255	Āchanta, West Godavari District.	<u>A.R.E.,</u> No. 700 of 1920; <u>S.I.I.</u> Vol. X, No. 349.	This inscription registers the gift of a perpetual lamp in the temple of Śrī Rāmēśvara of Āchanta by Rājamarāju, Erra Lakshmi-Rāju and Vēṅgiśvara Pina Lakshmi-rāju. This inscription is followed by another, recording the grant by Pina Lakshmi Rāju to the temple of Āsaṇṭi Rāmēśvara, of an areca garden which had been presented to his father Āsaṇṭi Sūraparāju by Viṣṇuvardhana Vijayāditya on the occasion of his daughter Mailāradēvi's marriage with Sūraparāju.

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1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
21.	Vīrabhadra	A.D. 1259	Juttiga, West Godavari District.	A.R.E. No. 740 of 1920; <u>S.I.I.</u> Vol. X, No. 360.	This is a record given by the minister of Chālukya Virabhadra, the king who married Rudrama, devī, the daughter of Kakati Ganapati, in the temple of Vāsuki Ravi Sōmēśvara of Duttika. The last portion of the inscription is illegible.
22.	Anyamāmbā	A.D. 1261	Pālakollu, West Godavari District.	A.R.E. No. 509 of 1893; <u>S.I.I.</u> Vol. V, No. 121.	This inscription mentions the grant of land for up-keep of a lamp in the temple of Srīrāma of Kshīrārāma by Anyamāmbā the queen of Bhīmavailabha of the Haihaya family. This Anyamāmbā has been stated as the daughter of Chālukya Indusēkhara and Udayāmbā. It is also said that she was the beloved sister of Chālukya king Virabhadra.
23.	Vīrabhadra	A.D. 1266	-do-	A.R.E. No. 509 of 1893; <u>S.I.I.</u> Vol. V, No. 122.	This record belongs to the period of Virabhadra, son of Udayāmbikā and Indusēkhara of the Chālukya family. This mentions the gift of lamp to the God of Kshīrārāma by Udayāmbā.

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1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
24.	Vīrabhadra	A.D. 1266	Drākshārāma, East Godavari District.	A.R.E., No.293 of 1893; S.I.I., Vol. IV, No.1163.	This inscription records the gift of a lamp in the temple of Bhīmēśvara by Vīrabhadrēśvara. This acknowledges the rule of Tribhuvana Chakravarti Rājādhirāja. (It is doubtful whether this Vīrabhadra belongs to the Chālukya family of Nīḍadavolu. In the damaged portion of this record his father's name is found as Narasimha).
25.	Vīrabhadrēśvara- dēva.	15th year	Narasapur, West Godavari District.	A.R.E., No.8 of 1956-57.	This is an inscription of Serva- lōkāśraya Vishṇuvardhana alias Vīrabhadrēśvara dēva Chakravarti of the Chālukya family recording the gift of lamp to Mārkaṇḍēśvara.
26.	Indusēkhara	A.D. 1279	Kolanupēka, Nalgonda District.	A.R.E., No.64 of 1961-62; C.I.I., Vol. I, No.25, p.82, Kakatiya Sanchika, Appendix, p.68; J.A.H.R.S. Vol. VII-2; p.132.	This record mentions the construction of a canal called Vamśa- vardhana by Pōtināyaka, a servant of Indusēkhara of the Chālukya family. This Indusēkhara was the son of Mahādēva and Lakkāmba and nephew (brother's son) of Vīrabhadra, the prince consort of the Kakatiya queen Rudradēvī. It further records various gifts by Pōtināyaka and by Indusēkhara. The genealogy of the Kakatiyas from Prōla II to Rudramadēvī is also given.

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1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
27. Vīra Rudra	A.D. 1290	Uttarēśvara grant (These plates are at present in Andhra University)	A.R.E., C.P. No.19 of 1961-62, E.I.vol. XXXVIII, pp.76-93, Bhārathi, June 1976, pp.20-37.		This records the grant of a village Uttarēśvara, which was given as 'guru dakshina' to the learned scholar Viddanā- chārya by his pupil Rudradēva, who obtained this village from Chālukya Induśekhara, a relative of the Kākatīyas. This furnishes the genealogy of Chālukya Induśekhara for four generations.
28. Induśekhara	A.D. 1290	Khandavalli plates (or Onapalli grant) (These plates are at present in Andhra Univer- sity)	Epi. Andhrica, Vol. IV, pp.110-112; Studies in Indian Epigraphy (Bhāra- tiya Purābhilēkha- Patrika), Vol. I-II, pp.167-179)		This is a record of Chālukya Induśekhara, son of Mahādēva and grandson of Induśekhara. This registers his grant of a village Onapalli with ashta- bhogas to Viddanāchārya son of Śrīrangāchārya and grandson of Dēvanāchārya of Kāpi-gōtira, on the occasion of Ardhoḍaya. This donor king is identified with Induśekhara II of the Uttarēśvara grant. This grant was issued during the time of Kākatī Pratāparudra.
29. Vishnuvardhana mahādēva	A.D. 1296	Pālakollu, West Godavari District.	A.R.E., No.511 of 1893; S.I.I., Vol. V, No.125.		This is an inscription of Udayamahādevī, daughter of Sarvalōkāśraya Śrīvishnuvardhana- mahādēva Chakravarti. She offered 1000 lamps on the day of Dīpāvalī and meals for 1000 Brāhmanas on the day of Sivarātri in the temple of Kshīrārāmēśvara for the merit of herself and

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
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Kōna Gaṇapatidēvarāju.

30. Prithivī Vallabhadēva A.D. 1297 Mallipūdi, West Godavari District. A.R.E., No. 533 of 1929; This is an inscription of Sarva lōkāśraya Vishṇuvardhana (A.R.E., Notes Nos. 71 of 1929). S.I.I. Vol. X, allas Prithivīvallabha, son of Mahādēva, mentioning the gift of lamp to the temple of Agastyēśvara. (As this record is found in the Vishṇu temple of Mallipūdi, and as there is nothing to indicate that this temple was originally one of 'Śiva', it is likely that the inscribed stone should have been removed from a place called 'Niravadyapura').
31. Vishṇuvardhana Rudradēva A.D. 1299 Pasuvēmula, Guntur District. A.R.E., No. 312 of 1930-31. This is a partially damaged record. This purports to record a grant of the grazing fees (Pullari) on some land at Pasuvēmula by Vishṇuvardhana Rudradēva for the merit of his parents.
32. Vishṇuvardhana mahādēva A.D. 1300 Pālakollu, West Godavari District. A.R.E., No. 512-A of 1933; S.I.I. Vol. V, No. 127. This is an inscription of Udaya-mahādēvi, daughter of Sarva-lōkāśraya Vishṇuvardhana Mahādēva. This mentions her gift of lamp to God Kṣhīrārāmēśvara for the merit of herself and of her husband Mahāmāṇḍalēśvara Kōna Gaṇapati dēva rāju.

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1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
33.	Induśekhara- dēva	A.D. 1300	Pālakollu, West Godavari District.	A.R.E. No.519 of 1893; <u>S.I.I.</u> Vol. V, No.147.	This is an inscription of Tōlēti Induśekhara, entitled Sarvalōkāśraya Vishnuvardhana. This mentions his gift of lamp to God Kshīrārāmēśvara for the merit of his parents Bhīmīdēvī and Vishnuvardhana.
34.	Vishnuvardhana Mahādēva	A.D. 1306	--do--	A.R.E. No.510 of 1893; <u>S.I.I.</u> Vol. V, No.124.	This record registers the gift of lamp to Kshīrārāmēśvara by Pina Udayamahādēvī, daughter of Vishnuvardhana Nidudaprōlli Mahādēva.
35.	Rudradēva	A.D. 1311	Kolanupālli, Warangal District.	<u>Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, Warangal District, p.242, No.87.</u>	This inscription records the gift of taxes levied on certain communities of the village for the worship and offerings to the God Mallanāthadēva of Kolanu- palli by Rudradēva, son of Vīrayadēva, grandson of Mahādēva and great grandson of Induśekhara of the Chālukya Vishnuvardhana lineage.

CHĀLUKYA FAMILIES IN NORTHERN KALINGA (VIZIANAGARAM AND SRIKAKULAM DISTRICTS)

Sl. No.	Name of the King	Date	Provenance of the inscription	Reference	Contents of the Record
1.	Vijayāditya	A.D. 1273	Śrīkūrmam, Srikakulam District.	A.R.E., No. 352 of 1896; E.I. Vol. V, p. 33; V.R. Vol. I (Ganjam) No. 230. Historical Inscription of Southern India, p. 160.	This record mentions the gift of a lamp by Vijayāditya, whose father Rājārāja had been the minister of Gāṅga Vīra-narasimha. He was a descendant of the Eastern Chālukya king Vimalāditya and his son Rājārāja who ruled at Rājamahēndri and translated the Mahābhārata into Telugu. This is very much useful to reconstruct the genealogy of this family.
2.	Purushōttama	A.D. 1277	do	A.R.E., No. 359 of 1896; E.I. Vol. V, p. 34.	This record mentions the gift of a perpetual lamp to God Kūrmēśvara by Purushōttamadeva, son of Rājārājadeva.
3.	Viśvanātha	A.D. 1307	Simhāchalām, Visakhapatnam District.	A.R.E., No. 329 of 1899; S.I.I. Vol. VI, No. 1002.	This is a record of a Chālukya prince Viśvanātha who bore the titles Sarvalōkāśraya and Viśṇu-wardhana. This mentions his gift of <u>tirumāla</u> , in addition to the erection of a <u>dhārmāndana</u> in the temple of God Nṛsiṃha.

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
4. Viśvanātha	A.D. 1307		Śimhāchalām, Visakhapatnam District.	A.R.E., No. 327 of 1899; S.I.I. Vol. VI, No. 1000.	This is a grant of Chālukya king Viśvanātha, entitled Sarvalōkāśraya Viśṇuvardhana. This records his grants for maintenance of bhōgas like <u>Amritamaṇi</u> along with wet lands and gardens to God Nṛsiṃha. He acknowledges Bhānudēva of the Gaṅga family.
5. Viśvanāthajiyyana	A.D. 1309		Śrīkūrmam, Srikkakulam District.	A.R.E., No. 330 of 1996; S.I.I. Vol. V, No. 1214; E.I. Vol. V, p. 96.	This is a grant of a Chālukya prince Viśvanādhajiyyana, son of Purushōttamadevajiyyana, of Mānavasa-gōtra. This records the gifts by the king for different bhogas like <u>Śrīnagarābhōga</u> to God Śrīkūrmēsa. This king acknowledges the Gaṅga monarch Vīrabhānudēva in this record. This is very much useful to know the various offerings made to the diety in this period.
6. Purushōttama	A.D. 1312		Pūri plates	History of Orissa, by R.D. Benerjee, p. 262.	These loose copper plates which are six in number mention the grant of village to a Sandhi-vigrahi who was working under Gaṅgas. This grant was made by king Purushōttama during his camp to the Southern sea. This was made in the presence of emperor Vīra Śrī Bhānudēva.

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1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
7.	Purushōttama	A.D. 1318	Śrīkūrmam, Śrīkakuḷam District.	<u>A.R.E.</u> , No.288 of 1896; <u>E.I.</u> Vol. V, p.37.	This record mentions the gift of a necklace by Purushōttama, the brother of Vijayārka and son of Rājarājadēva of Lunar race.
8.	Lakumarāja	A.D. 1346	Śimhāchaḷam, Viśakhapatnam District.	<u>A.R.E.</u> , No.320 of 1899; <u>S.I.I.</u> , Vol.VI, No.989.	This mentions the gift of lamp by Sarvalōkāśraya Viśṇuvardhana alias Lakumarāja of Bīragōṭṭa, son of Vijayadēva. Lakumarāja's queen is stated to be Śrīvādēvi. He claims to belong to the Mānavya-gōṭra.
9.	Jalēsvara- Mahāpātra	A.D. 1379	-do-	<u>A.R.E.</u> , No.330-A of 1899; <u>S.I.I.</u> , Vol.VI, No.1004.	This is a record of Sarvalōkāśraya Viśṇuvardhana Jalēsvaramahāpātra, who belongs to Mānavya-gōṭra. This mentions his gift of land in Nēraduballi for the maintenance of 'Chāmarabhōga' to God Narasimha.
10.	Dharmadāsa	A.D. 1380	-do-	<u>A.R.E.</u> , No.270B of 1899; <u>S.I.I.</u> , Vol.VI, No.735.	This is an inscription given by a Chālūkyā king Dharmadāsa, son of Bhīmarāja. It is said in this record that he and his queen Baddamahādēvi offered bhogas to God Narasimha.
11.	Nallurāja Rābhutturāja	A.D. 1385	-do-	<u>A.R.E.</u> , No.351 of 1899; <u>S.I.I.</u> , Vol.VI, No.1125.	This record mentions the gift of lamp by a Chālūkyā prince Nallurāja Rābhutturāja, who bore the titles Sarvalōkāśraya and Viśṇuvardhana, to God Nrisimha. Poṭṇūrī Chennurāja is mentioned as his subordinate.

CHĀLUKYA KINGS KNOWN FROM THE INSCRIPTIONS OF KRISHNA AND EAST GODAVARI DISTRICTS

Sl. No.	Name of the King	Date	Provenance of the Inscription	Reference	Contents of the Record
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
1.	Ballabhūpa	A.D. 1154	Pedakalīpālli, Krishna District.	A.R.E. No. 132 of 1897; S.I.I. Vol. VI, No. 88.	This record mentions the gift of lamp to God Nāgēśvara by Sōmaladēvi, the queen of Ballādhinātha. He was the son of Chālukya Bhīma and Abbālādēvi and grandson of Balla of Lunar race.
2.	-do-	-do-	-do-	A.R.E. No. 131 of 1897; S.I.I. Vol. VI, No. 87.	This inscription records the gift of lamp to God Nāgēśvara by Kāmaparāṇi, the queen of Ballanarēndra.
3.	Vishnuvardhana	13th year	-do-	Historical Inscription of Southern India, p. 55.	This refers to a grant by Kulōttunga Chōḍadēva in the 13th regnal year of Vishnuvardhana.
4.	Vishnuvardhana Bhīmadēva.	A.D. 1177	Palivela, East Godavari District.	A.R.E. No. 302 of 1893; S.I.I. Vol. V, No. 111.	This is a record of Sarva-lōkāśraya Bhīmadēva Chakravartī, son of Sri Vishnuvardhana Ballahadēva. This mentions the gift of a big bell to the temple of Koppēsvara.

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1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6.

5. Vishnuvardhana Bhīmadēva A.D. 1202 Palivela, East Godavari District. A.R.E. No. 502-A of 1893; S.I.I. Vol. V, No. 112. This is an incomplete record of Śrī Bhīmadēva, son of Sarva lōkāśraya Vishnuvardhana Ballahadēva. This records a grant by the king to God Koppēsvara.

6. A Chālukya King Vijayawada A.R.E. No. 536 of 1909; V.R. Vol. II, No. 90. This is an inscription of a subordinate of a Chālukya king of Vēngī. This refers to a certain Paṇḍitārādya who came to this place and proclaimed the superiority of Śivabhaktas to Brāhmanas by holding live coal in China muslim with the tender twig of a 'Sami tree'.



CHĀLUKYA KINGS KNOWN FROM THE INSCRIPTIONS OF GUNTUR DISTRICT

S1. No.	Name of the King	Date	Provenance of the inscription	Reference	Contents of the Record
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
1.	Vishnuvardhana	A.D. 1103	Velpūru (Chitrabhanu, Poushya)	A.R.E. No. 579 of 1925; S.I.I. Vol. X, No. 71.	This is an inscription of the period X, of Sarvalōkāśraya Vishnuvardhana. This mentions the gift of lamp to God Rāmēśvara. Some letters of the inscription are illegible.
2.	-do-	-do-	-do-	A.R.E. No. 578 of 1925; S.I.I. Vol. X, No. 70.	-do-
3.	-do-	A.D. 1133 (10th regnal year)	Undavalli	A.R.E. No. 16 of 1956-57.	This is an inscription of Sarvalōkāśraya Vishnuvardhana. This records the installation of Bhīmēśvara at Undavalli by Kaṇḍravādi Bhimarāja and registers gift of land for worship and offering in the temple. Construction of the shrine of Gaṇapati in the Siva temple is also mentioned.
4.	-do-	-	Selapādu	A.R.E. No. 709 of 1917; S.I.I. Vol. X, No. 217.	This is a damaged inscription mentioning the gift of land in the period of Sarvalōkāśraya Vishnuvardhana.
5.	-do-	A.D. 1144	Bhattiprōlu	V.R. Vol. II, No. 586-A; <u>Historical Inscriptions of Southern India</u> , No. 2, Local rec. Vol. 488-95.	This record mentions the grant of land to Vittalēśvaradeva originally given by Vishnuvardhana, by Kulōttunga Chōḍa Goṅka.

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1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
6.	Vishnuvardhana	Kali year 2628. Prabhava.	Pedacherukūru	A.R.E. No.239 of 1897; S.I.I. Vol. VI, No.202.	This is a record of a Chālukya king Vishnuvardhana in the Trivikra- masvāmi temple. It is said that he was the king of Rājamaṇḍravara. This mentions the gift of villages to God Trivikrama. This is an interesting inscription that gives some important details about the king.
7.	-do-	-do-	Ikshugrāma grant	A.R.E. G.P. No.13 of 1961-62.	This registers the grant of the village Ikshugrāma, to the Brāhmaṇa Nārāyaṇasārman, son of Aubhalaya and the grandson of Jyēshṭhasārman of Harihara-gōtra by king Vishnu- vardhana. The language of the record is very corrupt. It was written in characters of about the 14th Century.
8.	-do-	A.D. 1538	Bhaṭṭiprōlu	V.R. Vol. II, No.586-K.	This relates to a grant of lands to God Viṭṭalaśvara. King Vishnuvardhana is mentioned in this record.

CHĀLUKYA KINGS KNOWN FROM THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ANANTAPUR, CHITTOOR, PRAKASAM AND NELLORE DISTRICTS

Sl. No.	Name of the King	Date	Provenance of the inscription	Reference	Contents of the Record
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
1.	A Chālukya king	A.D. 1168	Hemavati, Anantapur District.	A.R.E. No. 121 of 1899; S.I.I. Vol. VI, No. 557.	This inscription refers to the rule of a Chālukya king.
2.	Vīra Rākshasa Yādavarāja	A.D. 1192 and A.D. 1225	Kālahasti, Chittoor District.	V.R. Vol. I (Chittoor) Nos. 69, 101, 102, 122, 111, 120, 139, 197, 200 of 1904; 93, 94, 172, 181, 183, 200 of 1903; <u>Historical Inscriptions of Southern India</u> , p. 125.	A number of inscriptions of the period of Kulōttunga Chōla III mention the gifts of Yādavarājas at Kālahasti. In A.D. 1192, the 15th year of Kulōttunga III, Vīra Rākshasa Yādavarāja is mentioned as the chief of Kālahasti. In one inscription of A.D. 1225, he was called as Śasikula Chālukki-vīra-narasimha Yādavarāja. He had some other titles like Chālukyanārāyaṇa. Tirukālathī-dēva is stated to be the father of Virarākshasa.
3.	A Chālukya Chief	—	Mōdūr, Nellore District.	V.R. Vol. II, No. 818; N.D.I. (Venkatagiri) No. 19, pp. 1413-14.	This records the grant of an evening lamp to the temple of Kēṣavaperumāḷ by a chief, in the name of 'Chālukyanārāyaṇa'.

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1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
4.	Bhīmarāja Siddayadeva	A.D. 1256	Tripurāntakam, Prakasam District.	<u>A.R.E., No.203 of 1905; S.I.I. Vol. X, No.355.</u>	This inscription records the grant of villages in <u>Pūṇḍinādu</u> for the maintenance of bhōgas to God Tripurāntaka-mahādeva by Bhīmarāja Siddayadeva. Many epithets of the king are mentioned
5.	A Chāḷukya prince	A.D. 1261	-do-	<u>A.R.E., No.194 of 1905; S.I.I. Vol. X, No.398.</u>	This inscription mentions the grant of a lamp to Tripurāntaka-dēva by a Chāḷukya prince, who was in the service of the Kākatīya kings Gaṇapati and Rudradeva, as 'sakala Sēnādhīpati'. This prince acknowledges Rudradeva in this record.
6.	Vishnuvardhana	A.D. 1323	Nindali, Nellore District.	<u>A.R.E., No.56 of 1941-42.</u>	This records the gift of Nimda-palli as sarvamānya to God Bhīmeśvara at Drākshārāma, 'The best of the five āramas' by Maḷeśvara gaṇḍa Avubhalanātha-dēvamahārāja, the lord of Veṅḡlī Vishaya.
7.	-do-	1st regnal year	Budamanārāyala- pādu, Nellore district.	<u>V.R. Vol. II, No.582; N.D.I. Podili, No.2, pp.1152-55.</u>	This record mentions the grant made by one Sivapparāju to Uḷliśvarabhaṭṭara. This acknowledges king Vishnuvardhana.

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1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
8.	Vishnuvardhana	12th regnal year	Budamanārāya la- ppēdu, Nellore District.	V.R. Vol. II, No.581; N.D.I. Podili, No.1, pp.1151-2.	This records the gift of land to God Ishatasōmu by Vishnuvardhana in the northern part of Bellam Bhanṭarāla.
9.	Vikramāditya	--	Annavaṛam- agrahāram, Nellore district.	V.R. Vol. II, No.62; N.D.I. Vol. II, p.287.	This record mentions the gift made by Śrī Vikramāditya mahārāja of Śrī Chāṭukya dynasty. The details are unintelligible.



MISCELLANEOUS INSCRIPTIONS WHICH REFER TO CHĀLUKYA KINGS

Sl. No.	Name of the King	Date	Provenance of the inscription	References	Contents of the Record
1.	Satyāśraya Bhīmarasu	(Equated to A.D. 932-33 Nandana)	Kazipet, Warangal District.	A.P.A.R.E. No. 3, pp. 85-87. Kannada Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, No. 71.	This is a damaged inscription of the period of Raṣṭrakūṭa Amoghavarsha that refers to some awards to the local officials and some specifications of fines for offences. It mentions Satyāśraya Bhīmarasu, possibly of the Chālukya family as his subordinate.
2.	Mummaḍi Bhīma	(Sewell calculated this to A.D. 1133)	Rāmatīrtham, Vizianagaram District.	A.R.E. No. 372 of 1905; A.R.E. No. 831 of 1917-18; S.I.I. Vol. X, No. 403.	This is a much damaged record of the Eastern Chālukya king Rājāmērtāṇḍa Mummaḍi Bhīma, entitled Sarvalōkāśraya Viṣṇuvardhana. This states that the saint Trikalayōgi Siddhāntadēva, the presiding teacher of the Dēśigana and the spiritual teacher of the king paid respects to Rāma Kōṇḍa.
3.	Ammajiyyana Gaṇapatiḍeva	---	Būrugugadda, Nalgonda District.	C.I.I. No. 21; p. 73.	This records the gift of land as sarvamānya to God Gōpīnātha by Ammajiyya Gaṇapatiḍeva, who bore the titles Sarvalōkāśraya and Viṣṇuvardhana. The land granted was only that portion which belonged to rāchavāru, who had to provide āṇḍanadi and chātunadi for the lord. The script of the inscription roughly belongs to 13th and 14th centuries.

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
4.	Vishnuvardhana	A.D. 1413	Drākshārāma, East Godavari District.	A.R.E., No. 350 of 1893; S.I.I. Vol. IV, No. 1240.	This record mentions the gift of Lamp to God Bhīmēśvara by a person of Rāpartī family, in the period of Vishnuvardhana.
5.	Śankara Harischandra	A.D. 1596	Pālakollu, West Godavari District.	A.R.E., No. 526 of 1893; V.R. Vol. II, No. 316; S.I.I. Vol. V, No. 165.	This inscription refers to the establishment of a city by name 'Perumāṇḍunagaramu', by king Sātōḍa Behara Mahāpātra Śrī Śankara Harischandra entitled Sarva Lōkāśraya Vishnuvardhana.



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Āndhra Sahitya Parishad Patrika

Bhārati

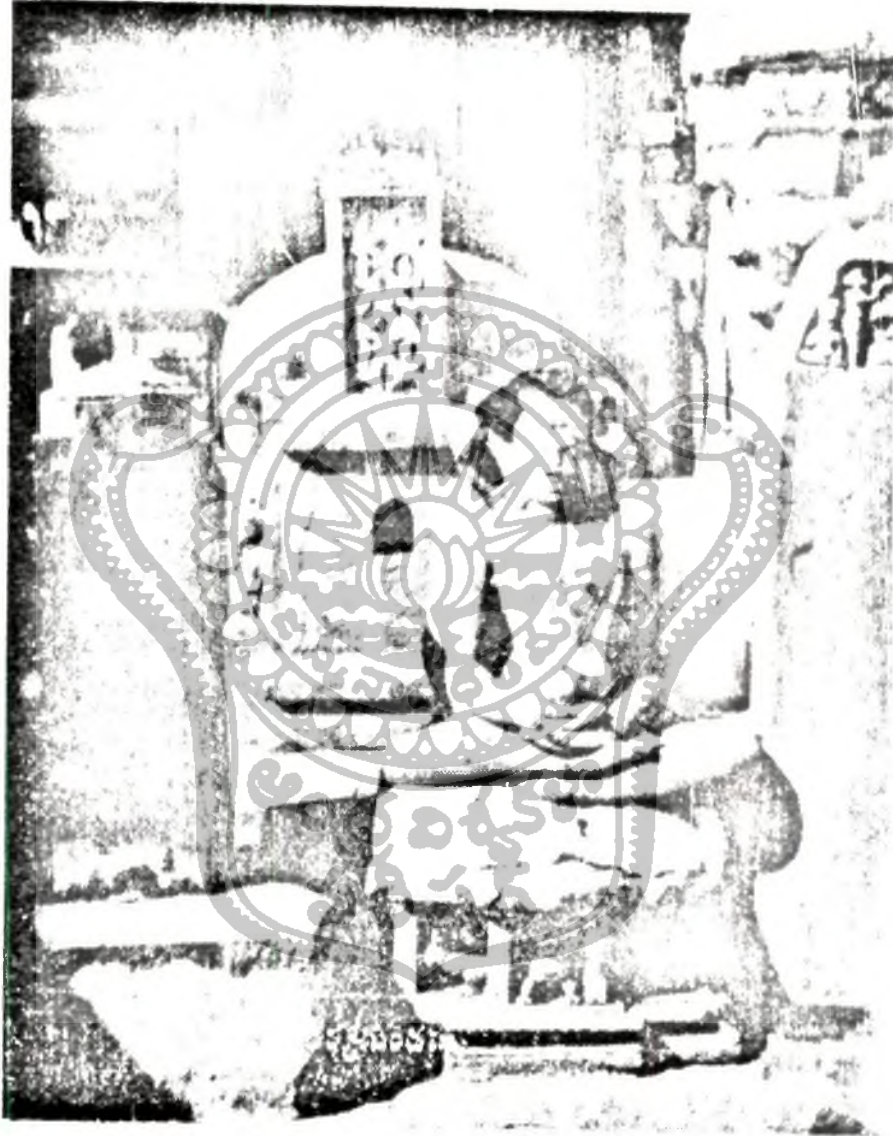
Kinnera

Nava Bhārati

Sārada

Telugu





SCULPTURE IN THE TEMPLE OF VISAKHAPATNAM
AT VISAKHAPATNAM







VĀSAVĪ KANYAKĀ PARANĒSVARĪ AT PENUGONDA





Chaumuka at Vemulavāḍa

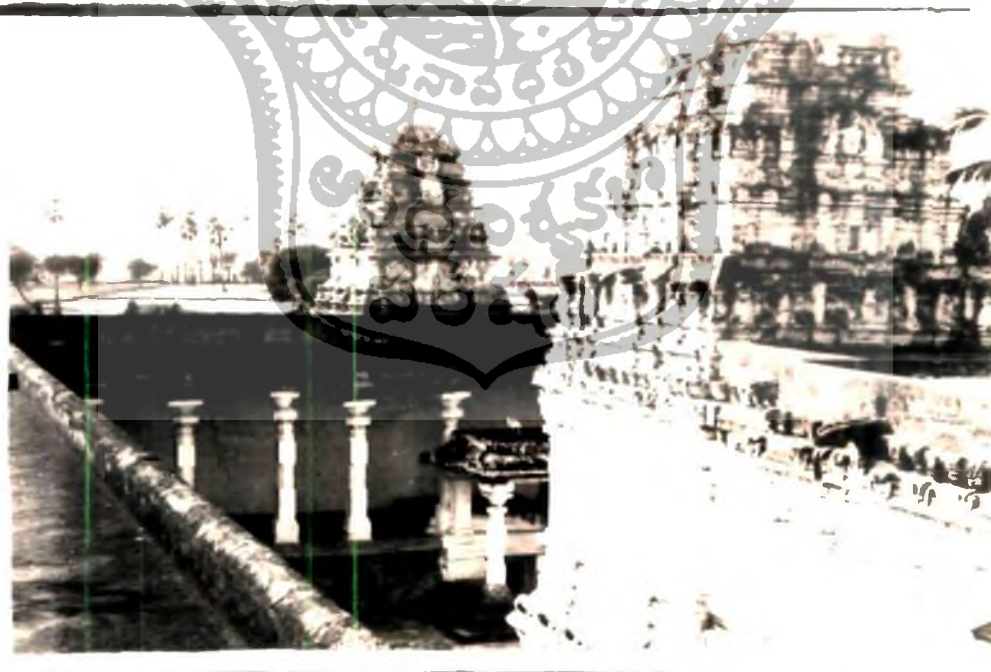


Female playing Vīṇā in the Kēdārēśvara Temple
at Vemulavāḍa





Cultivator driving the bull in the adhishṭhāna
mouldings of the Baddegēsvara Temple
at Vemulavāḍa



Bhāvanārāyaṇa Temple at Sarpavaram





Dharmalingesvara Temple at Pañchadhāra la



Kalyāṇa maṇṭapa in the Dharmalingesvara Temple at Pañchadhāra la





Natyamentapa in the Dharmalingesvara
Temple at Panchadhara La



Mahanasagriha in the Dharmalingesvara
Temple at Panchadhara La





Royal seal of the Chalukyas of Nidadavolu



HISTORY OF THE MINOR CHĀLUKYA FAMILIES
IN MEDIEVAL ĀNDRADĒŚA

KOLLURU SURYANARAYANA



THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE ANDHRA UNIVERSITY
FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN HISTORY
1984







“There lies hidden in the deep stream of the overflowing
mighty Godavari the glorious civilization of the Chalukyas.”

— ‘Ode to the Motherland’



CONCLUSION

The role played by the Chālukya kings in the political and cultural fields made its impact directly or indirectly on the history of Āndhradēśa. As they ruled different territories of Āndhra at different times, they had a share in the repercussions that arose in the politics of medieval Āndhra. Like the māṇḍalikas or the Chieftains of that period, these families exercised their own independent authority in their areas of rule. They also owed allegiance at times to the more powerful imperial dynasties like the Rāshtrakūṭas in the case of the Vēmulaṇḍa Chiefs, Kākatiyas in the case of the Mudigōṇḍa family. The other families do not refer to any overlord, which fact indicates that there was no effective authority of the suzerains over them. They were dragged into the vortex of conflicts of superior powers. The chiefs of Vēmulaṇḍa and Mudigōṇḍa struggled hard for survival amidst the warfare between the mighty Rāshtrakūṭas and Chālukyas of Vēṅgī. The Chālukyas of Vēmulaṇḍa under Arikēsari I were deputed by their overlords, Rāshtrakūṭas, to carry on wars against Vēṅgī, in which they were successful. The Eastern Chālukyas seem to have befriended the chiefs of Mudigōṇḍa to check the Rāshtrakūṭa intrusions into Vēṅgī. Kusumāyudha I defeated the Rāshtrakūṭas and installed Chālukya Bhīma I on the Vēṅgī throne.



The prestige of the imperial families depended occasionally upon the valour of a minor chief. Narasimha II of Vemulavāḍa directed the campaign of the Rāshtrakūṭas upto the Gaṅga-Jamuna doab. The Eastern Gaṅga kings were assisted by the Chālukyas of Elamañchili like Kumāra Errama in the battle of Pañchadhārāla against a host of enemies like the Telugu-Chōlas and the Koppala chiefs.

One notable feature of the period is the matrimonial alliance between the Kākatiyas and the Chālukyas of Nidadavōlu. Kakati Rudramadevī was given in marriage to Chālukya Vīrabhadra. What considerations prompted this marriage of an imperial family with a local power like the Chālukyas of Nidadavōlu are not known. This did not result in the transfer of Kākatiya authority to Vīrabhadra. The reins of government remained in the hands of his Queen Rudrama, who inherited the Kākatiyas kingdom, contrary to custom.

A study of the political history of these families offers only one clear instance of a vassal rebelling against the imperial authority. This is the rebellion of Nāgatirāja against the Kākatiyas during the time of Mahādeva and early part of the rule of Gaṇapati, when the Kākatiya authority was at a low ebb.



It is in this period that the contacts between Telāṅgāṇa and Coastal Āndhra increased. There were, no doubt, conflicts between the two zones as is evidenced by the Vēṅgī-Malkhed relations. There were also cultural impacts as evidenced by the migration of the family of Pampa from Vaṅgiṇaṅṅu in Vēṅgī to Telāṅgāṇa. The Chālukyas of Nidadavōlu, in the later phase of their rule, migrated to Telāṅgāṇa and continued to rule till they were overpowered by the Rēcherlas.

In the field of religion, the Chiefs of Vēṅṅavāda alone patronized Jainism in Āndhra. The other families were devoted to Lord Śiva; and a majority of the kings in these families constructed Śiva temples; but they were not only tolerant towards, not at the expense but respected, other religions. This was the period when the accent shifted from formalism to devotionism, i.e., from 'Karma-mārga' to 'Bhaktimārga'; and this can be seen in the extensive worship conducted in the temples with new additions like the 'Viśvanāthabhōga' in the Śrīkūrmam temple initiated by Chālukya Viśvanātha. Similarly in the literary sphere, these Chālukya rulers were responsible for ushering in the Kannada and Telugu literatures. It was their patronage that enriched not only Kannada and Telugu literatures but also of Sanskrit with valuable treatises and Kāvya. In fact, though these families held a minor status in the political life of Āndhra, they held a glorious position as patrons of literature and enriched it on a massive scale.

